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The New York Times
**US courts,
Third World law**

8-page supplement

**Angels fly
over Haifa**

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**Televised search
for pre-war roots**

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Levy likely to attend Malta conference

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Foreign Minister David Levy is likely to attend the Malta conference of the foreign ministers of the European Union and 12 Mediterranean nations, which opens tomorrow. The decision came after being promised by the European Union that a resolution denouncing Israel would not be adopted, ministry sources said yesterday.

Levy is expected to meet Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat at the conference.

The decision to attend, made after consultations with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu,



David Levy (Israel Sim)

peace process out of the two-day conference and to keep these issues out of its resolutions.

However, ministry sources said some harsh denunciatory speeches are expected.

The EU, whose 15 member states give \$2.3 billion annually in aid to Israel, the Arab states, and the Palestinians, urged Levy to take part in the conference, as did the US and Foreign Ministry professionals, ministry sources said.

The EU is seeking to expand its role in the peace process and its political clout in the region. So far Israel and the US have rebuffed EU attempts in this direction, stating that Europe cannot replace the US as the honest broker in the peace process.

Meanwhile, an Israel Radio report, attributed to the Foreign Ministry, that US special peace envoy Dennis Ross is to arrive at the end of the week was described by a US Embassy source as "inaccurate." The source said no such decision has been made. The report followed a meeting between US Ambassador Martin Indyk and Levy yesterday.

Foreign Ministry sources said the two discussed the possibility of a Ross visit and the situation of the peace process, and that Levy briefed Indyk about his meetings in Turkey and with EU officials. They also spoke about the Malta conference, the sources said.

Politics to overshadow economics at meeting, Page 4

has not been announced officially, pending further assurances from Israel's delegation already in Malta, that the conference will not be exploited as a stage from which to attack Israel.

Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van Mierlo, whose country holds the rotating EU presidency and who met with Levy on Saturday night, assured him that the Arabs have agreed to leave the Israeli-Palestinian confrontation and

Ruling keeps Bar-Ilan open

By HAIM SHAPIRO and Tim

The High Court of Justice yesterday overturned Transport Minister Yitzhak Levy's decision that Jerusalem's Rehov Bar-Ilan be closed to traffic during prayer times on Shabbat and holidays.

At the same time, a majority of the seven-justice panel said that if a solution could be found for the secular residents of the street and the neighborhoods along it - Court President Aharon Barak suggested issuing them with special decals that would allow them to drive during the hours the street is closed to other traffic - Levy's decision could stand.

Security for Barak and the other six justices was increased following yesterday's decision, Israel Radio reported.

In this decision, Justice Tsvi Tal - the court's only religious justice - who wrote a separate opinion upholding the total closure of the street on Shabbat and holidays, joined Barak and Justices Shlomo Levin and Elyahu Mazza for pragmatic



Labor MK Ophir Pines (right) argues with Yehuda Meshi-Zahav of the Eda Haredit after yesterday's High Court ruling. (Brian Handler)

Area residents vilify ruling, Page 3

reasons. Justices Theodor Or, Mishaal Cheshin, and Dalia Dornor opposed closing the street under any circumstances.

In his majority opinion, Barak wrote that if there were not alternate routes to Rehov Bar-Ilan, a main traffic artery linking the northern and northeastern parts of the city with downtown and the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway, the street could not be closed. He noted, however, that alternate routes do exist, and add at most a few extra minutes of travel time.

He added that if the possibility

of closing either of the two alternate routes, which also pass near haredi areas, on Shabbat is raised, the Bar-Ilan case would be reopened. He also said there must be no interference with Shabbat traffic on Bar-Ilan during non-prayer times and that security and emergency vehicles can use the street at any time.

The three justices in the minority argued that Bar-Ilan is a major artery and not a neighborhood street, which can be closed

on Shabbat. They said such an artery cannot be considered the "private property" of the people who live along it, and that the fact that the smaller streets in these neighborhoods are closed is a sufficient compromise.

Last night, about 100 haredim demonstrated along Bar-Ilan as dozens of policemen stood by. On several side streets off the main thoroughfare, haredi youths set garbage bins alight and threw stones and bottles at police cars.

No one was injured and two youths were arrested.

Yehuda Meshi-Zahav, the so-called "operations officer" of the Eda Haredit, predicted a "hot" summer, with protests and demonstrations, as a result of the ruling.

"This is the first time that the High Court has determined the weather," Meshi-Zahav said, adding he had not expected a favorable ruling and predicting there would continue to be

protests as long as there is traffic on the street on Shabbat.

Ornan Yekutieli, the Meretz Jerusalem City Council member who has spearheaded the fight to keep the street open to traffic, promised that haredi action would be met with counteraction.

"If the haredim start to make programs, we will return to the street," he said.

Continued on Page 2

Three hurt in Allenby Bridge shooting

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

Two Israelis and one Palestinian were wounded yesterday, when a Palestinian woman from Kalkilya opened fire on IDF troops and security personnel at the Allenby Bridge border crossing yesterday afternoon.

The woman, 26, married with one son, was a passenger on a bus returning from Jordan.

The bus passed the Jordanian security check and had reached the first Israeli security checkpoint, when it halted and the passengers disembarked. The woman took out a small caliber pistol hidden underneath her coat and fired 5

shots at soldiers and security personnel.

She wounded a 20-year-old security guard, employed by a private firm, in the right upper arm. A 25-year-old soldier who ran to his assistance was shot in the groin. One of the passengers, a 40-year-old Palestinian from Ramallah, was shot in the chest.

The woman then ran back toward the bus, but was overpowered by soldiers and her weapon taken from her. The injured were taken to Hadassah-University Hospital, Ein Kerem and Mount Scopus.

According to Magen David Adom paramedic Ron Zehavi, all the injured suffered from .22

caliber gunshot wounds. The two Israelis, he said, were lightly wounded and the Palestinian moderately.

Immediately after the incident was reported, additional troops were sent to the area. OC Central Command Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan and Judea and Samaria police chief Yossi Sibdon received reports on the scene.

The incident raises serious questions about the quality of the Jordanian security checks. A security source at the bridge claimed that passengers entering Israel are rarely checked by

Continued on Page 2

Plant evidence supports authenticity of Shroud of Turin

By JUDY SEGEL

Powerful evidence supporting the view that the Shroud of Turin - the garment in which Jesus is said to have been wrapped after his crucifixion - originated in the Land of Israel has been provided by researchers at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Duke University in North Carolina.

The scientists have succeeded in identifying 28 species of plants that grow in the Land of Israel among the images of flowers that appear on the shroud. All of them grow in the area between Jerusalem and Jericho, and most are spring flowers that apparently were picked during the period of the crucifixion and placed on the 4.1 meter by 1.1 meter piece of linen.

On the shroud appears the negative image of a man with long hair and a moustache who had been cruelly whipped, and a number of blood spots were spattered on it. The human image is similar to drawings of Jesus that have been seen since the fourth century CE. There are also hundreds of images of flowers and other plants and objects on the shroud.

HU Prof. Avinoam Danin, an expert on the plant life of the Land of Israel, was asked in 1995 by Dr. Alan Whanger - a Duke University medical lecturer - and his wife Mary to study images of flowers on the shroud. They used a special process of photography, along with negatives and ultraviolet light scanning, to increase the contrast and make visible images that are not easily seen by the naked eye.

The Whangers, who are believing Christians, found hundreds of images of plants, particularly in the area of the human figure's head. They then matched these images to drawings in the authoritative botanical work, *Flora Palaestina*, and in this way identified 28 types of plants.

Danin verified their conclusions and was even able to determine that additional images on the shroud could be associated with plants from the Land of Israel.

"I can't say for certain that it was Jesus's shroud," said Danin, who disclosed his findings in a lecture to biology students last week and is still "very excited" about them. "But this evidence backs up the possibility that it is genuine, and there is no doubt that it comes from the Land of Israel."

The researchers plan to study rock rose pollen grains removed from the shroud in the 1970s and compare them with pollen from

the same plants collected in Israel. They will also study the images of other ossified objects found on the

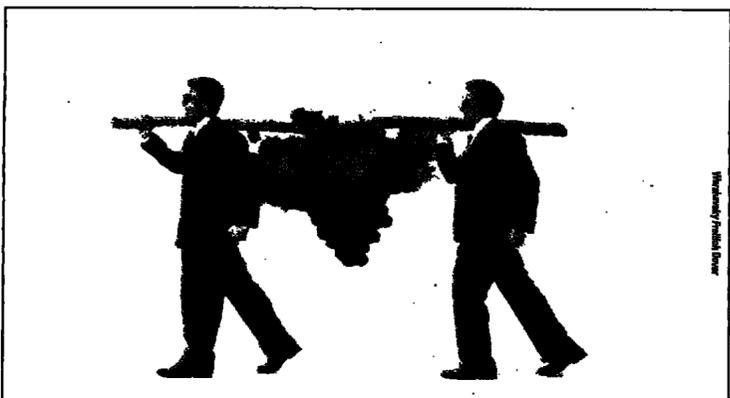
burial cloth, including a nail, hammer, broom, rope, a ring of thorns, and a sponge.

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NEWS

in brief

Iranians developing long-range missile

The Iranians, with the help of Russia, conducted a ground test two weeks ago as part of the development of a 1,500km-range missile that could hit Israel, OC Air Force Maj.-Gen. Eitan Ben-Eliahu said yesterday. Ben-Eliahu said this threat is in addition to efforts by states closer to Israel to develop non-conventional weapons and "signs of the development of nuclear weapons." *Jim*

Avi-Yitzhak sues 'Post,' other media

Attorney Dan Avi-Yitzhak yesterday filed a NIS 10 million libel suit against Channel 2 News, Ha'aretz, The Jerusalem Post, and Yated Ne'eman. In his suit, Avi-Yitzhak said the Post, and the other defendants, had reported that he, and his client, Ma'ariv publisher Ofer Nimrodi, had "plotted together to have Avi-Yitzhak appointed as the attorney-general in order to help Nimrodi in the 'wire-tapping case.'" Ma'ariv filed a similar suit last week. The defendants have 30 days to file their briefs. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

No economic fix yet

A meeting between Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, Finance Minister Dan Meridor, and Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel last night failed to reach agreement on what action to take to pull the economy out of its prolonged slowdown. During the 90-minute session, there was only time for Meridor to present a general overview of the economy and explain his understanding of the causes and remedies for the budget deficit, which has already reached NIS 1.2 billion in the first quarter. The meeting is scheduled to resume this afternoon. *David Harris*

Pope meets new Israeli ambassador

Aharon Lopez, Israel's new ambassador to the Vatican, presented his credentials at the end of last week and met with Pope John Paul II. The pope recalled the "greater goals spelled out in the Fundamental Agreement" between Israel and the Vatican, and repeated that "the Holy See and the Catholic Church as a whole are deeply committed to cooperating with the State of Israel in combating all forms of antisemitism." He also stressed the slowing down of progress in implementing the Fundamental Agreement, and the obstacles to progress in the peace process. *Lisa Palmeri-Billig*

Remote-controlled mine found in Gaza

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

An Egyptian anti-tank mine was found near hothouses belonging to Kfar Darom in the Gaza Strip by an IDF patrol yesterday morning.

The mine had been rigged with a radio-controlled electronic detonator, allowing it to be set off from a distance, according to Israel Radio.

Settlers in the area called the discovery and safe detonation a second miracle, recalling the two suicide bombers who blew themselves up in the Gaza Strip two weeks ago moments before school buses were to pass.

In Hebron, the IDF imposed a curfew on the casbah and Shallalah Street after rioting again broke out yesterday afternoon.

According to the IDF Spokesman, one soldier and three Israeli youths were injured by stones.

Palestinians said three Palestinians were injured by rubber bullets fired by the IDF to disperse the rioters and stones and metal bars thrown by settlers.

Sporadic stone-throwing began in the morning and escalated about noon, when Palestinians reached the entrance to Beit Hadassah, with some rocks landing inside the building.

Three Israelis, aged 20, 15, and

13, were injured when rocks were thrown at them as they played in the adjacent Schneerson playground. According to Hebron spokesman Noam Arnon, the three were treated at the site.

Settlers claimed that IDF troops did not intervene during the two-hour rock barrage at Beit Hadassah. Yesterday afternoon, GSS head Ami Ayalon visited Hebron and heard from settlers in Beit Hadassah

details of the recent riots and the stoning of Jewish houses. The settlers emphasized the necessity to deal with the Palestinian rioters more firmly in order to put a stop to the rioting.

Ayalon later climbed to the lookout on the rooftop of Beit Hadassah before he left.

The Hebron Jewish community also sent a message to Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, demanding he allow troops to pursue stone-throwers and push them back to "no man's land," a strip separating the Jewish community from the Palestinians, stipulated in the Hebron Accord.

Last night, four firebombs were thrown at a busload of IDF soldiers on the Halhoul Road near Karmei Tsur. The firebombs landed on the road several meters from the bus and ignited, causing no injuries or damage.



Ayalon meets settlers. (A. Harari)

Source: PA smuggling anti-tank arms

By STEVE RODAN and ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

The Palestinian Authority is smuggling Katyusha rockets, anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles, all in preparation for a future conflict with Israel, a senior Israeli security source said yesterday.

The source said, however, that the PA is not using the newly constructed jetty at the Gaza fishing port to bring in weapons.

"The PA has ambitions to buy weapons that are not allowed under the Oslo agreements," the source said. "They're trying to get anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons. There's no problem getting these things." The source

said the PA has numerous options to buy cheap rockets and missiles. These include Russia and eastern Europe.

Smuggling the weapons into PA-controlled areas is not difficult either, the source said. Anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, such as the Sagger, are small missiles that can fit into a suitcase. They are then brought into Gaza either via fishing boat from the Mediterranean or from the Sinai through a maze of tunnels from the Egyptian side.

Weapons can also be smuggled into PA territory in the cars of senior Palestinian officials, whose vehicles are exempt from Israeli searches, the source said.

In contrast to the assertion of several ministers, including Ariel Sharon, the source said the ships spotted near the Gaza jetty have not unloaded any cargo. "This jetty is political," the source said.

Although the source would not estimate the amount of weapons being smuggled into PA-controlled areas, he said the aim of the authority is not to amass enough weapons to try to defeat Israel in war.

Instead, the source said, the PA seeks to upgrade its military capability so that Palestinian forces could destroy at least several tanks in any IDF entry into Gaza or West Bank cities. The source said the propaganda

value of Palestinians immobilizing or destroying Israeli tanks would be tremendous. "This would give it a political victory," the source said. "It would be like the Tet offensive [by North Vietnam against the US in 1968]."

The source said that security cooperation between Israel and the PA in the aftermath of the capture of a Hamas squad in Tzurif continues to be inadequate. He said Palestinian and Israeli security officers still meet, but PA representatives have not been sufficiently cooperative.

"The cooperation remains very limited and specific," the source said.

Small-arms simulator a hit with IAF

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

In America, people pay to line up and play video games in which you shoot assorted criminals, terrorists, and enemy soldiers. In Israel, the government pays you - provided you are lucky enough to be called for IAF reserve duty.

The air force yesterday revealed its newest simulator, a NIS 1 million, small-arms video machine where reservists hone their marksmanship skills by blasting away at moving targets on a large screen.

The simulator saves it not only saves money by reducing the amount of live ammunition aimed use, but it greatly enhances marksmanship. For now it is being used by the IAF's ground defense battalions, but the army's Ground Forces Command is interested in incorporating it into its training as well, said Maj. Shmuel Frankel, chief ground defense training officer.

"The simulator saves in transportation costs, ammunition, and time," Frankel told reporters. "Soldiers here shoot 150 rounds in about two hours of training, while in the field it could take them all day. But the simulator is not a substitute for live fire."

While the IDF has numerous battle simulators, there is only one other small-arms simulator currently in use, by an unnamed unit in the Northern Command. The new air force simulator is said to be more sophisticated since it is based on video input, not laser disks, said project manager Yitzhak Ben-Moshe.

"We are able to program the actual scenarios in which our soldiers may find themselves," Ben-Moshe said. "We can videotape the setting where the soldier will be on guard duty and then implant the enemy onto the scene."

The simulator cost NIS 960,000



Instructors demonstrate the use of the IAF's new small-arms simulator yesterday.

(IDF Spokesman)

and was built by the Petah Tikva-based NCC company, whose representative said they are currently participating in a tender to supply the US Army with 500 simulators.

Female weapons instructors run the simulator with a strict discipline. Rules are the same as for actual shooting ranges, and anyone caught pointing a weapon or accidentally firing a round faces punishment. The M-16s are real and

attached to cables of compressed air, which give a 75 percent recoil. "Quick, they're shooting at you," shouted Staff-Sgt. Daniella, who commands the simulator.

The room filled with sounds of gunfire, as a squad of enemy soldiers' rain across the screen or emerged from APCs and tanks. When hit, the enemy soldiers let out an "Ugh!" and crumpled to the ground. In some scenarios, the

enemy is in traditional Arab dress. The simulator not only replays the shots fired, but shows the movement of the barrel before and after the trigger is pulled, so instructors can help the soldier correct his technique.

"A soldier who only hits 20 percent of his targets, and there are very few of these in the air force, is given added training," Staff-Sgt. Daniella said.

The simulator has only been operational for about a month, but Ben-Moshe and others involved in the project say it has "significantly" improved marksmanship. While no scientific research has been carried out, they said a simple comparison of two similar companies shows that airmen who went through simulator training easily outshot those who only had live-fire training.

SLA soldier killed by bomb

Hizbullah guerrillas set off a roadside bomb near the village of Harfa in south Lebanon yesterday, killing a South Lebanese Army soldier and wounding two civilians, the army said.

The civilians, one who suffered serious wounds and the other moderate, were taken to Israel for medical treatment. Reports from Lebanon said the wounded were also SLA militiamen.

In Tyre, Hizbullah claimed responsibility for the bombing. Foreign reports said IDF and SLA fired artillery at suspected Hizbullah hideouts after the bombing, but there were no casualties or damage reported.

The IDF said two Lebanese civilians were moderate and lightly injured when another bomb exploded near the village of Armata in the eastern sector of the security zone. They were taken to the hospital in Marjayoun. *Arieh O'Sullivan*

BAR-ILAN

Continued from Page 1

Jerusalem district police chief Cmdr. Yair Yitzhaki said the police would enforce the court's decision even if it is necessary to act with a heavy hand against demonstrators. At the same time, he asked for a meeting with Meshi-Zahav in an effort to ensure that this Shabbat before Pessah, traditionally known as *Shabbat Hagadol*, would not be a violent one.

Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein called for restraint and for obeying the law on Bar-Ilan. He said in a statement that, while the law enforcement authorities would certainly show restraint, it is first incumbent upon the residents - without infringing on their right to demonstrate - to avoid breaking the law. He appealed on the Eda Haredit leadership to do so, saying, "This, too, is the path of Torah."

Levy expressed surprise that the court said he had not fully considered the needs of the secular residents of nearby areas. Levy noted that there had been two commissions and numerous other studies of the issue.

In light of the court's ruling that the street could be closed during synagogue services if the needs of nearby secular residents are met, Levy is expected to call

an urgent meeting of Transport Ministry staff, police, and city officials to discuss ways to implement this, probably with a system of special stickers for secular residents.

Askenazi Chief Rabbi Yisrael Lau expressed disappointment at the court's decision, but also called for no violence of any kind. Sephardi Chief Rabbi Eliahu Bakshi-Doron said it is up to Levy to prevent desecration of the Sabbath.

Meretz leader Yossi Sarid said the court had proven for the umpteenth time that there are responsible, wise, and brave judges in Jerusalem.

SHOOTING

Continued from Page 1

the Jordanians. Regional commander Col. Yigal said after the incident that the Jordanians are responsible for preventing passengers from carrying weapons across the border.

Israeli and Jordanian officers are expected to meet to discuss yesterday's incident.

The shooting came only two days after the end of the 30-day morning period for the seven Beit Shemesh schoolgirls killed when a Jordanian soldier opened fire on students a school trip at Naharayim.

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Histadrut declares labor dispute

By JUDY SEGEL and Nim

The Histadrut declared a labor dispute yesterday in advance of a general strike to protest what it says is the Treasury's plan to harm workers' pensions.

The leadership of the national labor federation decided to approve Chairman Amir Peretz's proposal to declare the dispute after hearing a report on the state of the pensions from directors of the retirement funds.

The Histadrut spokesman said that at the end of March, the Treasury's Insurance, Capital Markets and Savings director Doron Shorer issued final orders on management of the pension funds. According to these instructions, revisions are to be made in the funds' rules within 60 days.

Some of the revised rules harm the rights of workers and pension fund members and some of them contradict government decisions, and agreements signed between the Treasury and the Histadrut, the Histadrut said in a statement.

"We are seeing more and more cumulative decisions made these days by the Treasury, which are all attempts to avoid honoring signed agreements," Peretz said, adding that attempts to harm pensions would not be ignored.

"I have a feeling that the month of May is going to be a hot month in labor relations with the government," he said.

Meanwhile, the Histadrut's operations and coordination committee is expected to approve a series of work disputes over various issues today.

The 8,000 administrative and maintenance workers at the coun-

try's hospitals are requesting a work dispute over issues that were not resolved in the collective labor agreements, including overburden due to the rise in the number of patients.

The Histadrut committee will also hear a labor dispute request from the 600 Health Ministry psychiatrists and another request from the 800 Magen David Adom workers.

It will also consider the dispute of the some 10,000 workers at 15 ministries over the Treasury's refusal to honor an agreement on making an additional payment on a percentage basis instead of a shekel basis. Yesterday, the ministry workers suspended their sanctions imposed last week in advance of the committee's meeting today.

All non-emergency operations at the two Hadassah-University hospitals in Jerusalem will be canceled today due to continuing sanctions by their 700 physicians. The outpatient clinics and diagnostic institutes, which were closed yesterday, will be open today, but the cancellation of classes at the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School continues.

The two sides - Hadassah Medical Organization (HMO) management and the doctors (represented by the Israel Medical Association) - continued their deadlock yesterday. The doctors insist that management's unilateral changes in their collective agreement be canceled, while management is ready only to suspend or freeze them if the physicians freeze their sanctions; then, said management, "we can go into 21 days of intensive negotiations."



Staff-Sgt. Sharon Edri is buried yesterday in the military section of the Beit Shemesh Cemetery.

(Brian Hentler)

'7 months of hope buried'

By HERB KEINON

Staff-Sgt. Sharon Edri was buried in a full military ceremony in the Beit Shemesh Cemetery yesterday, more than seven months after he was kidnapped and killed by terrorists.

"Sharon, my brother, today I bury you, together with seven months of hope," said Edri's brother, Shlomi, choking back tears.

Edri was buried more than 200 days after he was abducted on his way home from the Tzrifin army base, shot in the head, and buried by terrorists in the West Bank village of Tzurif. Edri's sister Sigal apologized, in the name of the family, for not being able to help him when he was in distress.

"Sharon, mother requested that I ask forgiveness from you, that we were not with you for those difficult moments, that we did not protect you well enough, that we did not hear your cries for help at the right time," Sigal said.

Yesterday hundreds of Edri's relatives and friends were by his side, as were government and military leaders. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu shortened his visit to Italy by several hours to be at the funeral. The funeral

was also attended by Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, Foreign Minister David Levy, Labor and Social Affairs Minister Eli Yishai, Chief Rabbi Yisrael Lau, Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak and other public figures.

Any anger the family may have harbored toward the police, government, or IDF for not finding Edri sooner, or suggesting in the beginning that he may have committed suicide or disappeared because of personal problems, did not find expression in any of the eulogies.

The occasional shouts heard at the funeral were not directed toward politicians. One woman directed a high-pitched yell at the honor guard standing at attention for the two-hour ceremony, calling on them to "Take care of yourselves."

Another man broke the somber silence of the funeral with shouts that "Sharon would have wanted the murderers to be extradited, he would have wanted a Jewish city, with 11 neighborhoods for each of the Jews the terrorists killed, to be established at Tzurif." The man was quickly silenced by one of the many police and security agents on hand at the funeral to protect

the dignitaries. Edri was buried in the military section of the Beit Shemesh Cemetery, seven graves over from where his uncle, Capt. Uriel Edri, is buried. His uncle, a career officer, was killed seven years ago in a car accident. A number of family members who lingered after the funeral first wept at the new grave, and then knelt and kissed the older one.

Netanyahu, whose security guards took up positions all over the cemetery, said, "I know that the family went through 200 horrible days, perhaps the worst type of suffering known to man, the suffering of not knowing and of uncertainty, of hope mixed with despair."

"I saw the family withstand their suffering," Netanyahu continued, "not giving up, struggling for the last thread of hope and information. Hana [Edri's mother] said, after they found Sharon, 'You raise a son for 20 years, and he is taken. Put an end to the calamities.'"

"Hana and Yitzhak [Edri's father], brothers and sister, all of us here - myself, the defense minister, the chief of staff, and IDF and security service officers - see that as a commandment to put an

end to the calamities of terror, to fight it and not give it any refuge. We will not stop our activities, without any connection to our demands on our Palestinian partners. We are fighting and will continue to fight until we apprehend and punish the last of those murderers."

Mordechai, who met with the family on Friday, promised to do everything to fight terror. From the time that the IDF knew of the kidnapping, Mordechai said, everything possible was done to find Edri. "But we were unable to save him, since only a few minutes separated the kidnapping from the death."

Edri's kippa, along with his watch and dog-tags, was given to his family on Friday. The kippa was on the mind of many of the mourners.

"You sanctified God's name," Shlomi Edri said. "The kippa was first on your head, and then, after a struggle, in your hand. The kippa was in your hand, you refused to separate from it, just as was the case during your life."

Scientists identify Qumram sundial

By HAIM SHAPIRO

The community at Qumram lived their lives by the clock, and archeologists have now found the clock, according to Dr. Adolfo Roitman, curator of the Shrine of the Book.

The shrine, which is the repository of many of the Dead Sea Scrolls, is to be the focus of an international congress on the scrolls being organized by the Israel Museum from July 20 to 25, to mark the 50th anniversary of the discovery of the ancient manuscripts. The anniversary will also be marked with an exhibition on "A Day in Qumram," opening June 1. Other related exhibits opening that day are on "The Ostraca," "The Cairo Genizah," "Conservation and Preservation of the Dead Sea Scrolls," and "The Architecture of the Shrine of the Book."

One of the objects to be on display in the exhibit on daily life in Qumram is the sundial, which, Roitman said, was specially adapted for the Qumram area. He said the object, made of limestone and about 20 cm. in diameter, had been uncovered in the 1950s by Roland de Vaux, the Dominican scholar entrusted with excavating Qumram by the Jordanian government. But the object had remained in the vaults of the Rockefeller Museum unidentified until recently. The sundial dates from the third century BCE, Roitman said.

With a hole in the center for a pole and notches indicating the hours, the sundial's unique feature is a series of circles indicating the seasons.

Roitman also pointed out that although the members of the Qumram community had ordered their lives according to the hours of the day, the length of each hour varied, according to the season. The shortest hours would be in midwinter, while the longest hours would be in midsummer.

Among the other objects to be on display is a recently found ostraca, a fragment of pottery with writing, which records the gift to the community of an orchard in Ma'on, together with a slave.

Bar-Ilan residents condemn High Court ruling

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

"Haters of Israel" was one of the milder epithets used by haredi residents on Jerusalem's Rehov Bar-Ilan to describe the High Court of Justice, hours after yesterday's decision to keep the street open on Shabbat.

"It's like it says in Ecclesiastes, justice and will go hand in hand," said Shimon Negu, of the nearby Shmuel Hanavi project. "It's okay to give half of the country to the Palestinians to make peace. But to make peace between Jews, they can't give back 200-300 meters."

"What are people asking for?" he continued. "That once a week there be a little quiet for the people who live here. All week long the road is busy. People who live here need a break, religious or secular. In Dizengoff, they closed down a street and made it a pedestrian mall. There it's okay because they're secular, but here it's forbidden."

"It's just terrible. I'm stunned," said Avraham Fuchs, a local resident, as he took his daughter to a store on the street. "There's a road that bypasses this place. Only haredim live here. If it was a place where secular and observant people lived together, that might be different. It's inhumane, even from a logical point of view. We won't use violence, but we will demonstrate in a legal manner."

"When it comes to dealing with Esau, Jacob our father used gifts, prayers, and battle," said Haim, who refused to give his last name. "We don't have anyone to give gifts to, but we'll use prayer and battle." "They are evil," he said of the High Court justices, "they do things just for spite. They look at the small minority that drives through here, and think of them, but not of all the people who live here and are upset by Shabbat traffic. They're the same wicked ones we faced throughout the generations, and we will overcome them, as we did throughout the generations, including [Chief Justice Aharon] Barak."

Nimri Maman, of Katamon, who was taking her daughter into a drug store at the Bar-Ilan/Shmuel

Hanavi intersection, was solidly in the minority.

"The decision to keep the street open was the wisest one possible," she said. "I hope they'll be able to bear up to the pressure. We [secular Jews] have the right to exist as well. They can live without us having to suffer for it. We can all live in the same city, with everyone living in their own neighborhoods. The road must stay open, because it's a major artery."

Hanan Rivkin, of nearby Ramat Eshkol, agreed, saying he is "all in favor of the decision, because [Bar-Ilan] is one of two exits from my neighborhood, so it's a great time-saver."

"It was developed as a main thoroughfare. If you want to make me an alternate thoroughfare that will get me to Hadassah on Shabbat, which I've needed, fine, but otherwise, this main artery must stay open," said his wife, Helen.

But Meir Sirotta, of nearby Sanhedria, disagreed. "This decision hurts a lot, and I don't think the haredi public will stand for it, and will launch a huge campaign against it. The High Court of Justice won't decide about Shabbat, which God gave us. It's not up to them to decide such things."

Bar-Ilan kiosk owner Shoshana Ben-David was equally upset, but had a different take on the matter. "I think it's a big mistake to make such a ruling against observant people, because they're stubborn and they'll go out to demonstrate, and that will lead to a civil war. They'll throw themselves in front of cars if necessary."

"When the haredim yell 'Nazis' at the police, this hurts me a lot. The road being open causes a rift between the Jews. I think they'll be a civil war. When they come to blows, when they hit soldiers or the police, it also hurts me. Who are the police? They are Jews, the soldiers are Jews - they're our brothers."

But a middle-aged resident of the street, who refused to give her name, had the most practical view of what the court's ruling would bring: more tumult on an already noisy street.

More pupils passing matriculations

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

There has been a continued increase in the number of 12th graders in the country, the percentage of them taking matriculation exams and those receiving matriculation certificates, Education Ministry officials announced yesterday.

According to the ministry's tests division, 80 percent of the country's youth of 12th-grade age were 12th-grade pupils in 1995, compared with 75% in 1993, with the biggest jump in the Beduin sector, where the figure rose from 33% to 41%.

According to the figures, which were presented to Education Minister Zevulun Hammer and Education Ministry Director-General Benzion Dell at a press conference in Tel Aviv, the percentage of pupils who take the exams increased from 61.2% to 65% last year, with the percentage receiving such certificates without taking any retests rose to 38.8%, from 37.9% in 1995 and 34% in 1994.

However, a total of 60% who

took the tests qualified for their matriculation certificates.

Pupils in the Upper Galilee school district had a particularly impressive record, with 88% of those taking the tests earning the matriculation certificate last year. In Tirat Carmel, 65% earned the certificates, while in Uman el-Fahm, 41% succeeded and in Taiba 34%.

Hammer said that since matriculation certificates have long been regarded as the "entrance ticket" to modern society, the figures were of added importance. "The matriculation certificate

plays a central role in the social, economic and academic development of educational system graduates, so we must do all we can so that more 12th graders take the tests and pass them," he said.

However, Hammer said that he wants to ensure that graduates of the nation's school system also have values, and not simply be outstanding in their studies. An Education Ministry team is currently working on a system for having a pupil's contributions to his community carry some weight in the matriculation certificates.

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Politics to overshadow economics at Malta

News agencies

BRUSSELS — Foreign ministers from the European Union and 12 Mediterranean neighbors meeting in Malta this week will discuss economic relations, overshadowed by worries about the Middle East.

In addition to the EU nations, representatives from Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey and the Palestinian Authority are expected to attend the two-day talks, which begin tomorrow.

EU council president Hans van Mierlo says the Arabs have agreed to leave Middle East problems aside at the two days of talks on advancing the 27-member EU-Mediterranean Partnership.

Libya, which Europe considers a sponsor of terrorism, is not part of the group.

At the inaugural Euro-Mediterranean conference in Barcelona two years ago, both sides haggled over the importance of respect for human rights in their relations. Malta may bring a reprise.

Last week, Human Rights Watch said conditions on the Mediterranean's eastern and southern rims remain grave "with consequences ranging from the disruption of the (peace process) to the enormous loss of life in Algeria."

The EU wants the talks to lay the groundwork for a Charter of Peace and Stability, bolster a regional free trade zone and increase cultural and social contacts.

"The charter is the most difficult task facing us," one EU official said, adding that economics and trade were mostly bilateral affairs and more easily handled.

Algeria, whose foreign minister Ahmed Azaoui is spokesman for the Arab group, sees the problem differently: "The EU priority is based on the political and security field to the detriment of the economic field," while the Arabs see economics as central to regional stability.

He also questions the European view of "security." "When we wanted to introduce...the terrorism file in terms of organized cooperation, that brought resistance..." he said, referring to Algeria's long-standing objection to EU countries sheltering its Moslem rebel foes.

The Mediterranean nations sell half of their exports to the EU and provide the EU with 20 percent of its energy. At the same time, half of the Mediterranean nations' imports come from Western Europe.

Free trade between the EU and the Mediterranean nations is to be achieved gradually by 2010 through bilateral accords. To date, the EU has such accords with Cyprus, Malta, Turkey, Tunisia, Israel and Morocco.



Italian PM Romano Prodi (left) holds a press conference with his Albanian counterpart Bashkim Fino in Tirana yesterday. (Reuter)

Italy's Prodi warmly greeted in Albania

TIRANA (Reuter) - Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi, feted with a hero's welcome in Albania, said yesterday that a multinational security force could aid the country's "rebirth" after weeks of armed anarchy.

More than 10,000 cheering Albanians greeted Prodi in the rebel-held southern port city of Vlore, birthplace of a violent uprising that has claimed nearly 300 lives.

Prodi said the 6,000 troops in a U.N.-backed force that will deploy en masse tomorrow could help Europe's poorest nation restore law and order. Italy is leading the mission, which it has codenamed "Alba" or "dawn."

"The mission is called 'Alba,'" Prodi said. "And this could be the dawn in the history of

Albania, the rebirth of Albania." The eight-nation force will arrive at the western port of Durres to protect shipments of emergency food aid and medicine.

About 100 Italian troops arrived on Friday and an advance French unit reached Albania yesterday.

"Italy wants to help Albania to reconstruct the state and to have quick democratic, transparent elections," Prodi told a news conference in Tirana with Prime Minister Bashkim Fino.

But he added: "I don't want to interfere in internal Albanian policy...We are not here to...make the situation worse." Escorted by heavily-armed Italian marines, Prodi first went

by helicopter to Vlore, where he expressed his condolences after a boat disaster last month in which more than 80 Albanian refugees drowned.

Worries about anti-Italian sentiment in the region soon evaporated as Prodi landed.

Thousands lined the road leading into town and cheered as he passed by in a motorcade of about 30 cars and armored vehicles.

Banners reading "Welcome Mr Prodi" along with "We Want Our Money Back" were held up by spectators along the road into town.

An estimated 10,000 cheering people jammed a central town square in front of a university building where Prodi and Fino met local leaders in the rebel stronghold.

Pope appeals for Bosnia reconciliation

SARAJEVO (AP) — Amid tight security, a bone-chilling wind and snow flurries, Pope John Paul II appealed to Bosnians yesterday to forgive each other and transform Sarajevo from a symbol of suffering into a model of coexistence.

Tens of thousands of pilgrims arrived at a soccer stadium near the wartime front line hours early and then braved the weather to attend the pope's 2-hour Mass.

NATO helicopters clattered over Sarajevo and security was tight to ensure the pope's safety after mines, plastic explosives and detonators were found on the pope's route Saturday. They were removed safely.

Tanks of Egyptian peacekeepers followed buses of pilgrims through the city streets. Italian soldiers patrolled the pope's route overnight. Italian paratroopers and sharpshooters, part of the international peace force for Bosnia, provided security at the stadium.

"Peace to you, men and women of Sarajevo!" the pope declared to warm applause from 60,000 people packing Kosevo stadium. "Peace to you, people of Bosnia-Herzegovina! Peace to you, brothers and sisters of this beloved land!" John Paul recalled his desire to visit Sarajevo while it still was under Serb siege during



Pope John Paul II celebrates mass in Sarajevo yesterday. (Reuter)

the 3 1/2 year war that ended in late 1995, and his statements of support for its suffering citizens.

He chided Europe for its attitude toward Bosnia during the long war. "Europe took part in it as a witness," he said.

"But we must ask ourselves, was it always a fully responsible witness?" Wind drove snow flurries into the pope's face, chilling the 76-year-old John Paul and his con-

gregation. Towards the end of Mass, clergy took out a large white umbrella to shield the pope.

A small heater was placed behind the pontiff at the altar.

John Paul looked rosy-cheeked and in good health on Saturday, but his hectic schedule and the cold appeared to be taking a toll yesterday. He looked weary and walked slowly, using his cane as he entered the national museum before Mass yesterday morning to meet with the Muslim, Serb and Croat on Bosnia's three-man presidency.

DUBAI (Reuter) - Hundreds of thousands of angry Iranians called for Germany's downfall yesterday and Iran said it would recall its envoys in a tit-for-tat row with Europe over German accusations it ordered political killings.

Witnesses said large crowds, raising clenched fists, packed the main street outside the embassy for several blocks in each direction. "Death to Germany, fascist Germany, servant of Zionism," they chanted.

"We condemn Zionist interference in German judiciary," one banner read. "Sever relations with the unjust German regime," another banner, in German, said.

Rows of riot police sealed off the embassy and witnesses said the emotionally-charged demonstration, which also called for the death of the United States and

Israel, was orderly.

Teheran radio said Iranians also marched in other cities, including Qom, Tabriz, Arak, Gorgan, Ardabil and Mahabad. It said other demonstrations would be held in the next few days.

The protesters demanded an apology from Germany for the Berlin court ruling that Iranian leaders, including Iran's religious leader and president, ordered the 1992 killing of four Kurdish opposition figures in Berlin.

Iran has denied any role in the killings.

Iran's parliament met in a closed session attended by Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati to discuss Iran's ties with Germany and the EU. The state media said several deputies had demanded Teheran rethink its relations with Bonn.

Iran's deputy speaker of parliament, Hassan Rowhani, urged the government to halt investment plans in eastern Germany and demand 18 billion mark (\$10.5 billion) compensation from German firms for failing to fulfill a contract to build a nuclear power plant in Iran after the country's 1979 Islamic revolution.

The court ruling sparked a diplomatic row between Iran and European Union states who — except for Greece — recalled their envoys from Tehran for consultations. Iran is already fighting US sanctions and attempts to isolate it.

Iran said late yesterday it would recall envoys from EU states that have summoned their ambassadors.

Both German and Iranian officials had on Friday indicated they

wanted to avert a full break of ties. Bonn until recently was Teheran's biggest trade partner and closest Western friend.

Iran and Germany have both recalled ambassadors and expelled four diplomats each since the verdict.

"Countries act based on their interests, and although they take symbolic steps for the sake of their friends they will not go down this road," Iran's Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati said.

He said any downgrading of ties with Iran would be against the interests of European states.

"The actions and attitudes of every state towards Iran will be registered in the memories of our people and the files of our government and these will be the basis for future planning of our ties with other countries."

Angry Iran to recall envoys

Addis blasts kill one, injure 41

ADDIS ABABA (AP) — Hand grenades thrown into a hotel associated with the Ethiopian government and a restaurant popular with foreigners killed one person and injured 41 others, the private radio FANA said yesterday.

It was not known who threw the grenades, and there was no immediate comment from police. But they were believed to be anti-government attacks.

One grenade was tossed through the window of the Tigray Hotel in Addis Ababa's central Piazza area, killing an Ethiopian woman and injuring 33 other people, three seriously, the radio said.

Minutes later, a grenade exploded at the Blue Tops restaurant across the street from the National Museum, injuring eight people, six British and two French. Two of the Britons and one of the French were seriously wounded.

The two badly injured Britons were part of a police training team, a British Foreign Office spokesman said in London on customary condition of anonymity.

"Most of the injuries were due to flying glass and shrapnel, but we don't think anybody is in danger of losing their life," British Embassy spokeswoman Janet Duff said.

The French consulate said the French woman, a teacher whose name was not released, was badly injured in the face and "will almost certainly have to be evacuated," French radio RTL said.

The restaurant is a popular gathering place for Addis Ababa's small foreign community.

The country is run by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, which took power in 1991 and won elections in 1995.

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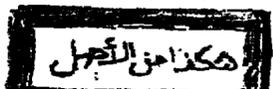
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MOVIE REVIEW

Perversion on the roads

By ADINA HOFFMAN

The winner of a special jury prize at the 1996 Cannes Film Festival "for originality, for daring and for audacity," David Cronenberg's movie, adapted from a cult 1973 novel by the English writer J.G. Ballard, also deserves a special citation for emotional emptiness, tonal monotony and a thorough absence of humor. *Crash* is one of the most self-consciously decadent pictures ever made, a dubious honor of which Cronenberg appears to be proud. (In interviews, he has taken up a haughtily Freudian defense and stated that anyone who is turned off by the film is actually attracted to it.)

While Cronenberg does in fact take on and depict graphically some extremely shocking material — the sexual fetishization of the car crash by a cult-like group of accident survivors — the director's icily elegant technique is what's really horrifying. His attitude toward his glassy-eyed, thrill-seeking characters and their perversions remains creepy, distant, and almost bored. His disinterested form of voyeurism becomes, in a sense, the perversion to top all perversions.

Not only will I scandalize you, he seems to be saying, but I'll make as if being so extreme is something of a bore. This tack is both pretentious and disingenuous: surely Cronenberg knew as he adapted Ballard's book that any sensation surrounding the film would be a direct result of its subject matter.

If anything, he's gone out of his way to rid Ballard's story of its

single, literal coupling between the two men, devoid of psychological significance. The movie's Ballard (James Spader) seems drawn to the car-cult and to Vaughn (Elias Koteas) by default rather than fascination. The good looks of the film, its chrome-and-silverish color scheme, its attractive cast, graceful sexual and automotive choreography, and smoothly unfrilled camera movements only add to the

CRASH

★★

Written and directed by David Cronenberg. Based on the novel by J.G. Ballard. Hebrew title: *Crash*. 100 mins. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Children under 18 not admitted. With James Spader, Holly Hunter, Deborah Unger, Elias Koteas and Rosanna Arquette

sense that something very sick is going on here.

Unlike a more sympathetic and darkly funny Cronenberg movie like his Kafkaesque *The Fly*, in which all sorts of bizarre physical metamorphoses gradually seized a very human Jeff Goldblum, the director contents himself here with arranging his cast (Holly Hunter and Rosanna Arquette also appear in various tableaux of mutilation or arousal, and encouraging them to recite their lines like zombies).

Although the physical acts the characters undergo take place at the very edge of cinematic possibility — the car crashes, in particular, are distastefully realistic — a peculiar abstraction hangs over most of the film.

No attempt is made to let these



Uncle Sam in the spotlight: Moshe Beker stars as Pryor Walter in 'Angels in America.'

(Eytan Shouker)

'Angels' over Haifa

By HELEN KAYE

Tony Kushner's millennial angel has winged its way to the Haifa Theater where the Pulitzer prize winning play, *Angels in America*, premieres tonight.

"Angels exist," asserts the play's director Roni Pinkowitz, "and you have to find a way to them. They symbolize goodwill, the existence of another option, [one which] is very real. The way I see it, the play appeals to the heart more than it carries a political, sociological or spiritual message."

The winds of history blow through *Angels*. The play caused a sensation when it first premiered in the mid-'80s, winning

a Tony and catapulting its author to international fame. Kushner came here in 1993 for the Cameri Theater production and said at the time that "history is a record of human calamity that paradoxically contains the key to salvation."

Angels looks at America through the intersecting lives of former McCarthy aide Roy Cohn (Yossi Pollak), a closet homosexual dying of AIDS, Pryor Walter (Moshe Beker) and his lover Louis (Gil Frank), an agonized gay couple, and a Mormon couple (Itzik Julie and Maya Maoz) on the cusp of change.

When Pinkowitz heard that Haifa had included Kushner's apocalyptic play in its season, he said, "I didn't want to lose the

chance at it," so he quit his advanced directing studies at England's Middlesex University to take on the job.

He compares it to classical drama which reveals society through the story of individuals and says that the social and moral climate in the US during the Reagan and Bush years has current local analogies.

"The play is not about AIDS or gays," he says decisively, "but about attitudes in a society which marginalizes minorities and ignores their concerns."

But what is great in *Angels* is that it doesn't just highlight a situation but seeks a solution. The angel is part of that, and this production is an intellectual and emotional journey to the angel."

Drama for Pessah

By HELEN KAYE

This is the ninth year that English Amateur Drama in Israel president Yanki Fachler has masterminded the EADI Pessah Festival, which brings all but one of the country's amateur English-speaking drama groups under one roof for a one-act play festival.

Tyros and veterans mix in this two-day event which takes place at Yad Lebanim in Tel Aviv on April 23 and 24. Undisputed veterans of the English amateur drama scene, the Tel Aviv Community Theater weighs in with Ionesco's "surreal assault on the banalities of English society" manifested in *The Bald Soprano* directed by Suchinta Wijesooriya.

Newest kid on the block is Kate Brody's youthful Center Stage coming with Terence McNally's *Noon*, a five-character comedy which she describes as a "satire of '90s trendy sexual politics."

"We wanted to be in the festival

to establish Center Stage as part of the greater English theater community," says Brody, who immigrated from the US last August and established the group the following month.

Ronit Libner's Old Barn Theater from Hod Hasharon and the Sharon Players represent clubs who've been part of that community for a decade or so. OBT is bringing Frank Vickery's grave comedy *After I'm Gone*, dealing with Mum's efforts to break off her daughter's eight-year engagement to the local underdraker.

Director Libner has directed all but one of the shows that she brought to the festival and thinks "it's wonderful. It gives the groups an incentive to get better and better. I know I've learned a lot from seeing what the others do."

Gail Summers, director of the Sharon Players' *Johnny and Wilma*, a rib-tickler by Renee Taylor and Joseph Bologna, agrees, adding "even the stuff you

don't like can be helpful."

The other groups taking part include the Jerusalem English Speaking Theater with Woody Allen's *Mr. Big*, a sendup of the Hollywood private-eye movie directed by Kelly Hartog; the Guild Theater's *Closets*, written and directed by the group's co-founder Jodi Schenk; a hapless earth couple on *Venus in Vacation* by H.R. Gouldman from the Netanya AACI drama group and directed by Ben Kershner; and Harold Pinter's *The Dwarfs*, directed by Andrew Wesscott, about the breakup of a marriage from Jerusalem Stage Players.

The sole holdout is the Haifa English Theater which has steadfastly refused to join EADI, the umbrella organization which represents Israel in the International Amateur Theater Organization.

The clubs compete for two awards, the three-year-old Doris Kershner Best production Award and the two-year-old Best Performance Award.



James Spader and Deborah Unger find a strange source of excitement in 'Crash.'

charged emotional arc and obsessive first-person voice. As the novel goes on, the narrator, named Ballard, becomes increasingly fascinated by the group's ringleader, Vaughn, and hungry for the "the real excitement of the car crash."

There's a strong and dynamic homoerotic edge to the book that's been reduced by Cronenberg to a

people grow or change or exhibit much feeling beside the quick rush that comes from a temporary turn-on: they start out distracted and vague to us, sleepy and dulled in their lives, and continue in more or less the same vein, pausing every now and then to change partners and positions. *Crash* is a strangely complacent affair.

Jews in the movies

By TOM TUGEND
Los Angeles

When was the film *American Shadchan* first released? What city is the focus of the British film *Jewtown*? Who stars in *The King of Crown Heights*?

These and other questions on movies of Jewish interest are answered in the *Independent Jewish Film: A Resource Guide*, edited and published by the pioneering San Francisco Jewish Film Festival — the oldest and largest of its kind in the world.

The 172-page volume includes synopses of more than 400 films from 27 countries.

There are also instructions on how to organize a Jewish film festival, articles on the state of the Jewish cinema in America and Israel, and a hilarious description of the first Jewish film festival in Moscow.

Independent Jewish Film is available for \$24 (including shipping) from the San Francisco Jewish Film Festival, 346 Ninth



Menahem Mendel Schneerson, movie star

Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. Tel. 415-621-0556, fax 510-548-0536.

(The answers to the questions above are: *American Shadchan* was made in 1940; *Jewtown* is set in Cochin, India; and Rabbi Menahem Mendel Schneerson, the Lubavitcher rebbe, played himself in *The King of Crown Heights*.)

Conductor Gatti: Italy is 'a hell for music'

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

As a young Milanese boy, Daniele Gatti wanted only one thing in life — to play football. Playing the piano was fun, but he never took it seriously. "Music was part of my life but I was too young to understand what it meant to be a musician."

Today, maestro Gatti still supports Inter Milan but his occupation is conducting.

"I decided to be a conductor around age 13. I came to La Scala and saw *La Cenerentola* with Abbado. I was shocked to see a conductor live. Then, this impression was repeated a few weeks later at a symphonic concert and I felt I must be a conductor. And so I began to study composition at 15, I practiced the violin by myself and, with the little money I had, I bought miniature scores.

"At 18, I conducted my first concert with a group of friends at school. I used to look at other conductors and I practiced. I had no real lessons. Technically, I became a conductor without knowing that I was always meant to be one."

Gatti, who is the music director of London's Royal Philharmonic Orchestra (and next year will also become the music director of Bologna's opera house, the Teatro Comunale), made his Israel Philharmonic debut last night.

Despite being highly sought-after, Gatti does not conduct as much as many of his jet-setting peers. "I conduct just seven months each year and spend the other five months studying and with my family."

Gatti says that there is a very obvious difference between musical life in England and in Italy, and in spite of being Italian, he cannot be proud of his homeland.



Daniele Gatti

"I like London very much. I always felt at home there. I like the professional standard of the city and I like the order in the city and the respect for music. Italy is a hell for music, because we are Italians. We don't understand that we have such a great treasure. It's very sad to say that. London has five orchestras. In Italy three radio orchestras were closed recently. There is simply not enough music in Italy. Rome has a new concert hall but nothing happens there."

And he does not see it changing. "It's

impossible to speak with politicians because music is not a business. The major problem is education. Nothing happens in our schools."

The soloist in the current IPO series of concerts is violinist Shlomo Mintz, with whom Gatti has appeared a number of times in the past. "We have a very good relationship in the concert hall and outside as well."

"I try to choose my partners very specifically and I like to work with people who are very normal. And, by the way, the quality of Shlomo has improved since I first met him. He has become mature."

Daniele Gatti leads the IPO in music by Bartok, Brahms and Hindemith tonight at the Jerusalem International Convention Center and tomorrow and Wednesday at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv.

NEWS

of the muse

Academics study Madonna

Fifty students signed up Monday for the latest pop-culture course at the University of Amsterdam: a 40-hour class examining pop-star Madonna. The for-credit course examines Madonna's lyrics, voice and ventures into film as well as her persona as a sex symbol, her religious beliefs, and, most of all, her media presence.



Madonna

Berri honors Jean Moulin

Fifty-four years after French Resistance mastermind Jean Moulin was tortured to death by the Gestapo, a film recounting his betrayal has reopened one of the cloudiest chapters in the nation's wartime history. Some critics have panned veteran director Claude Berri's *L'acte Aubrac*. But according to Prime Minister Alain Juppe, "It is important to face the reality of the period, to accept the responsibility and the shame, the glory and the heroism."

Resurrecting Elvis

Researchers have unlocked a vault of unreleased material — in one case quite literally — that they hope will do for Elvis Presley's posthumous career what the *Anthology* sets did for the Beatles. RCA is preparing a four-CD, 100-song Presley set for release this summer that will contain 77 performances that have never been released publicly. Presley died in August 1977.



Elvis Presley

'The Woman' in Ireland

The Jerusalem English Speaking Theater production of *The Woman in Black* will go to the Dundalk International Amateur Drama Festival and Competition next month. The two-character thriller by Stephen Mallatrat is directed by Kelly Hartog, whose spirited production of *Universal Language* by David Ives won her raves in that friendly Irish city last year.

Helen Kaye

Return of Twyla Tharp

Quintessentially American choreographer Twyla Tharp's young company of 14 dancers is coming with *Tharp!*, a program of three dances that premiered to raptures in San Francisco last September. *Sweet Fields* celebrates the religious singing of 18th- and 19th-century rural America; *66* is an ironic salute to that most famous of highways set to a jazzy score; and *Heroes*, set to a noble Philip Glass score, evokes Americans' fascination with the outsider.

Tharp created *Push Comes to Shove* for Mikhail Baryshnikov in 1976, and the dances for *Hair* (the movie). A trend-setter whose work characteristically blends classical, modern and jazz dancing, she first performed here at the 1982 Israel Festival. There'll be two performances only, at the Roman Theater in Caesarea on June 14 and 16. Tickets are on sale at all agencies.

Helen Kaye

Chinese acrobats in Beersheva

The international award-winning Beijing State Chinese Circus starts its month-long debut tour of Israel today at the Omer sports stadium in Beersheva, with shows at 11 a.m., 4 and 6:30 p.m. Thirty-five young acrobats have come with about 20 different acts, including some never seen outside China, and will present around 12 every show. The youngest acrobat is 10, the oldest is 30, but the average age is 15 to 16. Tomorrow they're at the Tel Aviv Cinerama at 4 and 6:30 p.m. and Thursday in Kfar Menahem at 5 and 7:30 p.m. Tickets range from NIS 40 to NIS 75.

Helen Kaye

Get down in Eilat

Some 20,000 youngsters are expected to throng the Laguna Beach Hotel in Eilat for a three-day, nonstop Rockdance Festival from tomorrow through April 17. DJs from here and abroad will preside over dance styles from Jungle to Trip Hop and Reggaeton. The Eilat municipality is providing most of the funds and logistical support. Rockdance organizers Multimedia say that all the necessary security precautions are in place and that special phone lines, food and other essential services will be on hand.

Helen Kaye

Rubinstein entries

Compositions by Gil Shohat and Minsk-born Eliezer Afer are to be the Israeli entries in the ninth Arhur Rubinstein Master Piano Competition in Tel Aviv in March 1998.

Michael Ajzenstadt

Fiddlers in Holon

Violinists and violists aged 13 to 25 from all over the world are currently sending in application forms for the annual string seminar held in Holon under the guidance of Pinchas Zukerman. The seminar opens on June 1 and interested musicians can obtain admission forms by calling (03) 528-7975.

Michael Ajzenstadt

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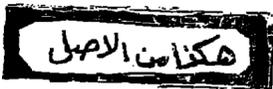
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The Bar-Ilan precedent

The High Court of Justice ruling overturning Transportation Minister Yitzhak Levy's decision to close Rehov Bar-Ilan during prayers on Shabbat and holidays is not, in the final analysis, a clear-cut victory for either side. For now, the street will remain open, but the decision shows appropriate sensitivity to the interests of all concerned, and points to small changes to be made in Levy's decision that would allow the street to be closed.

Both sides will be making a mistake if they react in extreme ways to the court's ruling. The haredim must realize that they may be as close as ever to getting their way, that they are not above the law, and that any violent response to the decision will rightly not be tolerated. The secular activists should refrain from any victory parades, or other cross attempts to inflame the situation.

It is also irresponsible for some religious Knesset members and the Chief Rabbi to immediately threaten to nullify the court decision by passing a "High Court Bypass Law." To politicize the matter further through new legislation will only increase polarization and make it harder to reach fair solutions for both sides. To his credit, Levy, a National Religious Party minister, is not encouraging these efforts, and instead has stated that he will reexamine his decision and attempt to bring it into line with the court's requirements.

Rather than rush into action, both sides would be better served by reading the decision, and taking note of its clear recognition of principles dear to both secular and religious Jews. For example, the decision recognizes that keeping the street open on Shabbat causes "difficult and bitter" damage to the sensitivities of the vast majority of local residents.

Further, the court affirmed that the fact that Rehov Bar-Ilan is a major thoroughfare connecting different parts of the city is not, in and of itself, sufficient grounds to keep it open on Shabbat. The court found that the alternative routes, which add about one to two minutes of travel time, are acceptable solutions for those who are just passing through the largely haredi neighborhood.

The decision, therefore, did not turn on the question of a haredi neighborhood sitting astride a major artery and blocking access between secular neighborhoods. Rather, the court focused on an issue that has largely been lost in this whole controversy—the rights of the small secular minority who live on and around the street in question.

The court's contention was that the

Transportation Ministry did not take the interests of the neighborhood's secular residents into account, and was indeed oblivious to those interests. If the ministry had shown that it was aware of those interests and had taken steps to minimize the negative impact of the decision upon the local residents—by setting up a tag system that would allow them and their visitors to drive on the street on Shabbat, for example—the ministry's decision to close the road would have been upheld.

The implication of the reasoning of the decision, then, is to allow the closing of major streets on Shabbat if there are acceptable alternative routes, and if the impact on local secular residents is minimized.

Though the logic of the decision would seem to be eminently reasonable, there does remain a question as to why the High Court has involved itself in this matter in the first place. As Justice Tsvi Tal pointed out in his dissent to the decision, the court should not generally involve itself in judgment calls made by the executive branch. Only severe and extreme negligence on the part of the executive authorities can justify court intervention, which does not exist in this case, Tal argued.

In this respect, the minority opinion makes a critical point. Judges should not legislate from the bench; they should be even more careful not to attempt to execute administrative decisions from the bench. This is particularly true when the court seems to be acting in contrast to its own precedents.

Generally, the court is loathe to reopen the conclusion of any government-appointed commission—assuming, rightly, that it cannot duplicate the process of gathering all the appropriate witnesses and substituting its own judgment for that of the executive branch. There is a fine line between the court's legitimate role of protecting fundamental rights and acting as executive decision-maker. If the court crosses this line, it opens itself to charges of arbitrariness and anti-democratic tendencies.

With this case, the court may have opened a Pandora's box that will not be easily shut again. From now on, the court will have a much harder time rejecting petitions to reopen the findings of all sorts of government commissions and investigations. Though the decision was in this case balanced and sensible, one wonders how the court would defend itself against charges that the decisions it goes after are not those riddled with procedural improprieties, but those it does not like.

The way ahead

MAX SINGER

A major Palestinian offensive is under way. The Palestinian Authority has rejected the terms of the interim agreement, and insisted on the right to use violence to support its demands for further concessions.

Either the PA wants to force Israel to install a national unity government, or it believes that support from the US and other countries now empowers it to gain better terms than those negotiated in the IA (interim agreement).

What should Israel do? How can it achieve the internal unity it needs to cope with the external

fulfill its agreement to keep its forces out of Area A, and to allow PA forces to have civil authority in Area B, unless further Palestinian violations of the agreement caused too great a reduction in Israeli security.

But Israel would make no further redeployments nor implement any other promises it made in the IA until there was full Palestinian compliance.

DEFIANCE of the Palestinians' rejection of the IA is necessary for two reasons. First, because yielding to it would only lead to further violence to compel other Israeli concessions. Second, a full peace agreement with the Palestinians can only be made if it can be demonstrated that the terms of an agreement with them can be made to stick.

Reaffirmation of willingness to negotiate a generous full peace is necessary to make the tough response to the Palestinian offensive acceptable to enough Israelis—and to the US. Israel will not be able to make a sufficiently firm response to Palestinian violence and violations, however justified such a response may be, unless this necessary stern stance is accompanied by a renewed dedication to the pursuit of peace.

Palestinian acts of violence must be treated as an obstacle to peace that Israel is determined to overcome.

A defiant response to the Palestinian offensive, and a refusal to accept their breaking of promises is also essential to retain the support of Israelis who seek security, but are willing to make sacrifices for peace. A real insistence on reciprocity—and an enforcement of the PLO's agreement not to operate in Jerusalem—would give the government the protection it needs against attacks from the Right.

It should, of course, be done in a way that is sensitive to the Arab negotiating style, and to Arab sensitivity to personal humiliation.

The underlying disagreement that prevents an adequate degree of unity among Israelis is over

A combination of generosity and firmness will best serve Israel

pressure?

The answer is a two-part stance. Israel must combine a reaffirmation of its readiness to make a generous peace with the Palestinians with a defiant rejection of the Palestinians' violent offensive. Both elements are necessary; neither can work by itself.

One half of Israel's response to Palestinian rejection of the IA should be a proposal to use the final status negotiations to achieve a full peace. The sides should agree on a set of arrangements which both accept as a full settlement of the dispute, and after which neither will have any further claims against the other.

Israel's position should be: If the Palestinians are ready to make a full peace, we will be generous and forthcoming, and differences about specifics are negotiable. The critical question will be whether the Palestinians are, indeed, ready.

The second half of Israel's response should be a rejection of any further negotiations or movement under the IA until the Palestinians comply with its terms. Israel would continue to



whether the Palestinians are willing and able to make a full peace, giving up any further claims against Israeli territory or legitimacy.

Whatever the evidence and facts, this disagreement can not be resolved except by trying to attain such a peace with the Palestinians.

Israel has to show those who believe peace is possible that it is prepared to give the Palestinians the essentials of what they want—unless that is the destruction of Israel, or the division of its capital. (There is room for a Palestinian capital in Jerusalem that does not divide the city.)

If Palestinian reaction to this initiative eventually shows Israelis that the Palestinians are not yet

ready to make a full peace, Israel will gain the unity it needs to resist further Palestinian attacks. And if the Palestinians demonstrate that they are ready for full peace, Israelis will have the unity to agree on the sacrifices and risks that peace will require.

Only by clearly demonstrating its determination to plough ahead to peace can Israel respond to the Palestinians' current offensive with firmness—the firmness that will convince them that success lies in negotiation and keeping promises, not in violence and threats.

The writer is a BESA senior research associate and the author of *The Real World Order*.

A pernicious utopian virus

ANGELO M. CODEVILLA

President Clinton," writes the *New York Times*, "emerged from his meeting with Prime Minister Netanyahu last week deeply wary about Mr. Netanyahu's idea of a dramatic, six-month push toward a final settlement between Israel and the Palestinians..." Clinton and his advisers pressed the Israeli prime minister to get "a more gradual negotiating process... going again."

The prime minister, for his part, had just unloaded on the American public his unwillingness to go through innumerable rounds of negotiations, in each of which Israel makes concrete concessions to the Palestinians in exchange for the promises of an end to terrorism, only to see the Palestinians revoke those promises in order to get the next round of concessions.

"We refuse to pay for the privilege of not being killed," said Netanyahu, implying that his real objection was to having to pay repeatedly, and still getting killed. Clinton's objection to the prime minister's suggestion that all sides lay their ends and means on the negotiating table at once is that "six months down the road" it might appear that an Arab-Israeli agreement was impossible in the first place.

Some day this exchange will be used in university courses on international affairs and to train diplomats the world over, because it illustrates so well one of the fundamental principles of statecraft: The first function of negotiations is to ascertain the extent to which the objectives of the two sides may be compatible.

To pretend that agreement exists about fundamental objectives where it does not, and then to protract negotiations over details invites both parties to fight while they talk, thereby gradually breaking down their opponents' will to resist.

So, the protracted negotiations that nowadays are called "peace processes" drain whatever goodwill there may be on both sides.

They are less instruments of peace than operations of war.

None of this is news. It has been taught in schools of diplomacy from time immemorial. Yet, for the Israeli government until almost yesterday, and for Clinton and his aides even now, the notion of determining the compatibility of objectives is scary for the simple reason that if objectives truly happen to be incompatible, they are afraid to say so. Why?

THE US does not lack unhappy experiences with such negotiations. In Korea between 1951 and 1953, in Vietnam between 1968

national position was saved only by the domestic troubles of communist countries.

Beyond political cowardice, the reason Western politicians reflexively tell their publics that the dictators with whom they deal are men of goodwill (the morally neutral term "leaders" is now de rigueur) and that agreements on fundamentals exist where they do not is the widespread assumption that things just must be this way.

Three quarters of a century ago Woodrow Wilson infected all Western statesmen with a utopian virus that has yet to run its course. Since Wilson, Western states-

Western statesmen are almost expected to say the world's problems can be fixed

and 1973, with the Soviet Union with regard to arms control beginning in 1969, American negotiators tried to square the circle.

Passionately wanting agreements that would be good for all sides, loath to use force to compel the communists to accept US conditions, American diplomats told the American people that the communists were dealing in good faith, and that everything would turn out all right, given enough skill and perseverance.

Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter, and George Bush invariably said that Brezhnev et al shared their basic goals.

The communists, meanwhile, increased their military pressure while accusing the American authorities of having insufficient goodwill, never mind skill and perseverance. The American authorities, for their part, were afraid to confess to the American people that they had misjudged the situation, and that peace on easy terms was not possible. So the Americans habitually signed agreements that they were unwilling to enforce. America's interna-

tion position was almost expected to say that the world's problems are fixable, that comprehensive solutions good for everyone are readily acceptable to everyone except for a few enemies of peace, and, above all, that those who do not speak this way thereby identify themselves as the enemies of peace.

There are thus powerful incentives against pointing out the sad fact that in some cases the satisfaction of some parties can occur only by the annihilation of the others, and that in such cases a kind of armed vigilance may be the best solution available. Given this incentive, it is understandable that diplomats proclaim peace at the start of negotiations, and leave the thorniest problems to be worked out later.

But, of course, this way of doing things gives the incentive to the most bellicose parties in the negotiations to settle the big issues by bringing force to bear on the party that has already declared peace.

In such a contest, democratic statesmen are at a disadvantage because, having declared that fun-

damental "understandings" exist, they cannot easily act as if they did not. Thus like Brezhnev, Gorbachev, Assad and, yes, Yasser Arafat, whom they created, are not so bound.

When future professors describe the self-made net in which Israeli and American statesmen have been struggling of late, one of their most vivid images should be of the words of Yossi Beilin, published in *Ha'aretz's* magazine of March 7.

"At no stage," queries the interviewer, "did you ask yourselves where all this was leading? 'No.' 'You never talked to [Yitzhak] Rabin about the long-range meaning of Oslo?' 'Not once.' 'And with [Shimon] Peres?' 'I didn't talk to Peres about it, either.'"

The interviewer then asked how Beilin et al could possibly have gone into such a process without understanding the practical problems involved.

Beilin's answer: "I want to live in a world where the solution to our existential problem is possible. I have no proof that this is really the case... I am simply not prepared to live in a world where things are unsolvable."

That is to say, that for Beilin, as for Woodrow Wilson, as for the Clinton administration, if the world does not conform to one's own views, so much the worse for the world.

Alas, solipsism is the negation of statesmanship. Bigger countries can sometimes afford bigger doses of it than smaller countries. None can afford much of it for long.

Given such blatant disregard for the fundamentals of international statecraft, the wonder is not that Israel is in such trouble, but that its troubles are not bloodier.

The writer directs the Division for Research in Strategy at Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies, Jerusalem and Washington, and is professor of international relations at Boston University.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE CONVERSION BILL

Sir, — The recent passage of the first reading of the conversion bill, despite the government's intention to freeze it in committee, represents a serious break from those principles which define a Western, democratic government. Among those principles is that every individual, regardless of his numerical representation in society, is endowed with the unalienable right to freely choose his religious expression or, for that matter, to be free from state-sanctioned religion. Codification by the state of an accepted expression of religion is none other than religious coercion and a dangerous step away from a free and democratic form of government toward that of an autocratic theocracy as best represented by Iran or Sudan.

The explanation that the conversion bill simply codifies what was or is the status quo is not acceptable. This bill codifies a status quo that demands change. That the Conservative and Reform movements in Israel brought legal actions challenging the status quo is, in fact, an acceptable manner in which to challenge an unjust system in any Western democracy. The conversion bill is a cynical reaction to a legitimate effort to effect desperately needed social change.

The conversion bill not only challenges Israel's standing as a democracy, it also challenges its standing as the physical and spiritual home of the Jewish people. The bill, despite the prime minister's denials, delegitimizes an entire sector of the Jewish people. Those of us who care about Israel and its standing as the spiritual home of the Jewish people must speak out against this bill and the religious coercion of the Orthodox establishment by continuing to press for true religious pluralism so that Judaism, in all its expressions, can truly have the opportunity to thrive as it (arguably) does in other democratic nations.

LOU FRANKENTHALER
Jerusalem.

ARAB TERMINOLOGY

Sir, — Why any Jewish writer would choose to use the terminology of the international Arab propaganda machine is a mystery. When the author of this article is a rabbi and editor of a Jewish publication, it is all the more sad and worrisome. In his op-ed article of April 2, "On transcending tribalism," Michael Lerner, in consonance with Arab propagandists, vilifies the present Israeli government for its "building a Jewish settlement in Palestinian East Jerusalem." Moreover he claims that such policies are the cause for the estrangement from Judaism of large numbers of Jewish youth.

Anyone who has visited the site of Har Homa, no matter what his or her political orientation or position on the construction, knows that it is not a "new Jewish settlement" as Michael Lerner and

Yasser Arafat would like us to believe. Nor is it located in "Palestinian East Jerusalem." Rather it is a neighborhood, much like neighboring Gilo, that is being built on Jewish land in the south of our capital.

As for Mr. Lerner's inclinations to blame the policies of the present Israeli administration for the deteriorating loyalty of Jewish youth, I find it far more plausible that the wishy-washy commitment to such Jewish ideals as the centrality of Jerusalem, as expressed by Mr. Lerner and others like him, contribute far more, by virtue of the trickle-down effect, to the lack of dedication to the Jewish people by growing numbers of the younger generation.

ELAZAR SHAPIRO
Jerusalem.

FACING FACTS

Sir, — Shmuel Katz's biting analysis of March 12, "Without Jerusalem..." makes refreshing reading. Like many who follow events in Israel through your columns, I am often exasperated by the stubborn determination of many Israeli politicians and others not to face facts.

Following the worldwide chorus of condemnation of Israel's decision to build Jewish homes in the capital city at Har Homa and the consequent renewed outbreaks of terrorist blackmail, minds are again being concentrated sufficiently to admit the truth. Moslem and Palestinian nationalist opposition to the existence of Israel and the claim that Jerusalem is and will remain Israel's undivided capital, is implacable. Shmuel Katz also correctly identifies the Moslem and Palestinian counterclaim as having no credible basis. Not a word in the

Koran provides sanction, and any truthful and objective reading of history removes all doubt that the protestations of the nations now once again uniting against Israel and the Jewish right to the Land, are anything but shameful.

There is, however, another dimension that Katz misses. Within the Torah and the prophetic scriptures, Israel's title is clearly established. If Moslems had so much as a little of such a title, the old Palestine would hardly have been treated with the scant regard that it was, before a small part became Israel. Nor would they have been slow to identify the Giver of that title, as Israel has been and is, and the God of Israel and, as will presently emerge, the Lord of all the earth.

LYNDON J. RICKARDS
Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire.

CIGARETTE ASH

Sir, — It would be a service to all your readers if you could publish the name of the particular bakery in Bnei Brak where Chief Rabbi Lau went to help with baking the "shmurat matza" (photo, March 31).

This way, when we do our Pessah shopping, we can avoid buying matza with cigarette ash in it.

SUSAN NAGUS
Jerusalem.

POSTSCRIPTS

RESIDENTS of a poor Miami neighborhood scrambled on hands and knees to grab a share of a fortune in cash that showered into the street from a Brink's armored truck that crashed into a guardrail.

Pandemonium reigned in Overturn when the truck overturned during rush hour on a highway overpass, cracked open and sent a river of bundled currency and coins onto a street below.

"There was money everywhere," a policeman said. "You couldn't walk anywhere without stepping on money. The streets were paved with gold."

THERE'S NO comfort for Hywacky the cat like napping inside a car.

But that's little comfort when the cat locks its owner out. Pamela Reeser, of Medford, Oregon, got stuck in the rain a kilometer from home, her keys locked inside her car with the engine running.

Reeser started the car and was about to leave when she remembered something. "As I walked back toward the car, the cat stepped on the lock button," she said. Hywacky then yawned, and went to sleep.

Reeser walked all the way home — uphill and in the rain — to fetch another key.

THIS NOTICE went up recently in bathrooms at the US Department of Energy in Washington:

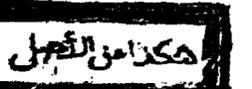
"We are cordoning off certain restrooms at the Forrestal Building. We have discovered air in some of the plumbing lines. This can cause urinals to explode and toilets to expel both gas, water, and sewage. Please be extremely careful when flushing toilets and urinals!"

And exactly how is one to be more careful? A DOE spokesman wasn't sure, though he said two people had been injured, apparently by exploding urinals, "but I don't know the extent of their injuries."

AN ARTICLE in the *Post* recently mentioned the *International Fertilizer Correspondent* as "the only journal I've ever come across that legitimately publishes, uh, crap."

Reader George Marcia, from Karmiel, just couldn't let that one be: he found a couple more: *Pumper*, described by its publisher as "a monthly tabloid covering the liquid waste hauling industry: portable toilet renters, septic tank pumps, industrial waste haulers, etc."

The same publisher also puts out *Cleaner*, a publication for sewer and drain cleaners. No, we at the *Post* do not see them as competitors.



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Sunday, April 13, 1997
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All or Nothing

Given Not an Inch, Political Foes Take a Mile

By KEVIN SACK

ANGRY California voters didn't just tinker last year when they revolted against perceived abuses in affirmative action. They rolled out a guillotine called Proposition 209 and killed the program with one slice of a fast-falling blade.

New York legislators are taking a similarly tough approach to rent control, threatening to let expire a state program that has suppressed apartment rents in New York City for 50 years. In Washington last year, "welfare as we know it" was not so much reformed as it was gutted.

On each of those issues, many analysts now argue, advocates for sweeping social programs adopted such uncompromising stands that they gradually alienated any constituency for reform. The result was the death or debilitation of many programs that might have survived had deft surgery been embraced as an option.

The phenomenon has changed the very definition of reform.

In many instances, reformers are no longer the people who want to adjust the programs to strengthen them; they are the ones who want to gut or abolish them. In today's political lexicon, welfare reform often means the end of welfare. Tax reform, at least as Speaker Newt Gingrich proposed it last week, means eliminating capital gains and estate taxes. Period.

Last week, in fact, the strength of abolitionist sentiment seemed to increase.

In New York, anti-rent control legislators beat back an attempt to extend regulations. In California, a Federal appeals court upheld the constitutionality of Proposition 209.

In the offices of the advocates, policy analysts,

academics and editorial writers who have made a practice of defending policies to their death, there is now some belated second-guessing about that strategy.

One who argues that advocates for social programs need to learn the art of compromise is Wendell E. Primus, who resigned as deputy assistant secretary for health and human services last year in protest over the effect of the 1996 welfare bill on children. He is now director of income security for the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a nonpartisan group in Washington that lobbies for low-income families.

"With regard to immigrants, for instance, I don't think we were willing to acknowledge that there was a problem there," Mr. Primus said, speaking of the welfare law's sanctions against legal immigrants. "I believe the advocates do the programs a disservice by not recognizing that sometimes the problems exist and that you need to get on top of them."

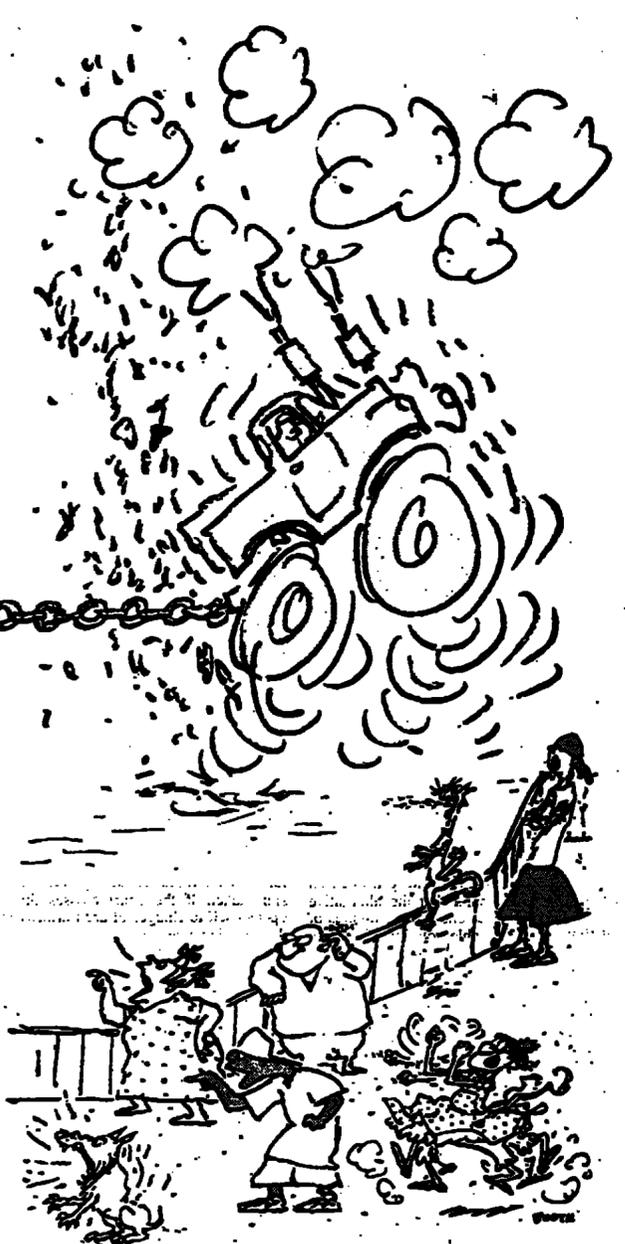
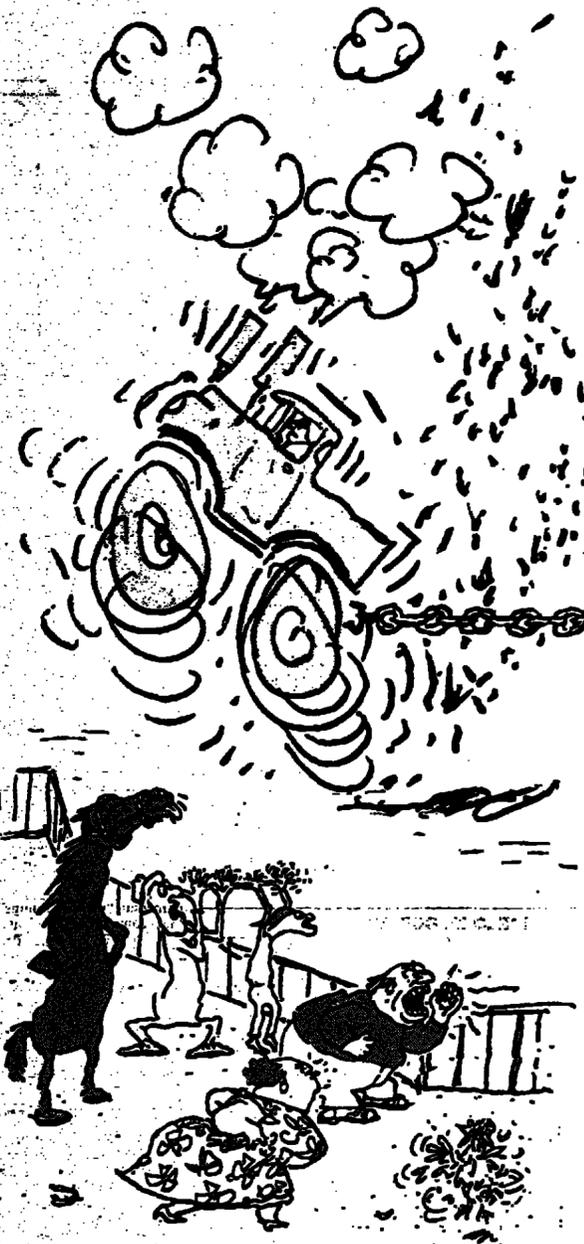
Another Clinton Administration exile, David T. Ellwood, a welfare policy theorist who is academic dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, said he sensed a real tension among welfare reformers between a desire to talk about the system's failings and the fear that doing so would "just encourage people to cut, slash and burn."

"The welfare system had lost so much credibility by the time welfare reform was on the Republican agenda that it seemed almost impossible for people to talk about the bad parts of the bill and be believed," Mr. Ellwood said.

"And the tragedy is that we went way past where the American public wanted us to be, in my view. But there was nobody to say, 'Stop in the middle.'"

Rigidity is not a trait of only the left. The right's inflexibility on the budget a year and a half ago shut

Continued on Page 2



She's Back British Politics, in a Word (Still): Maggie

By WARREN HOGE

MARGARET THATCHER SWEEPED into party headquarters last week to give a campaign pep talk to her fellow Conservatives, and the 300 candidates greeted her as if she were Dolly Levi returning to the Harmonia Gardens. The moment she took the stage, resplendent in blue silk brocade with every hair of her shimmering ash-blond coil in place, they gave her a welcome as hearty as the one belted out by "Hello, Dolly's" singing waiters, and Prime Minister John Major, not always known for having the right lines, beamed at her and said, "Welcome back here where you belong."

The same party that hounded her out of office seven years ago, leaving her powerless and embittered, has wooed her back this year to help it try to overcome the double-digit lead held by the Labor Party in the polls. "They have resurrected her after reviling her for so long," said Lord McAlpine, her close friend and onetime treasurer of the party. "It's the only chance they've got, though, mind you, I think it may be a little late."

She does not disguise her delight at being in the public eye again. "I'm fighting fit; it is marvelous to be here," said the 71-year-old former Prime Minister, now known as Baroness Thatcher of Kasteven, on Wednesday at her first campaign stop, in the Dorset town of Christchurch. Presented with a she-dog-droppin by children there, she said, "It likes acid soil, just like me." Then she took the tall, bespectacled local

candidate for Parliament, Chris Chope, aside, adjusted his blue lapel rosette and put him through full inspection. "You will win," she said. "But you will have to work quite hard, do you hear? You want to speak to as many people as possible — it's a good basis for the future. You have got to work on getting a good display of posters. You have got to see that they are not torn down."

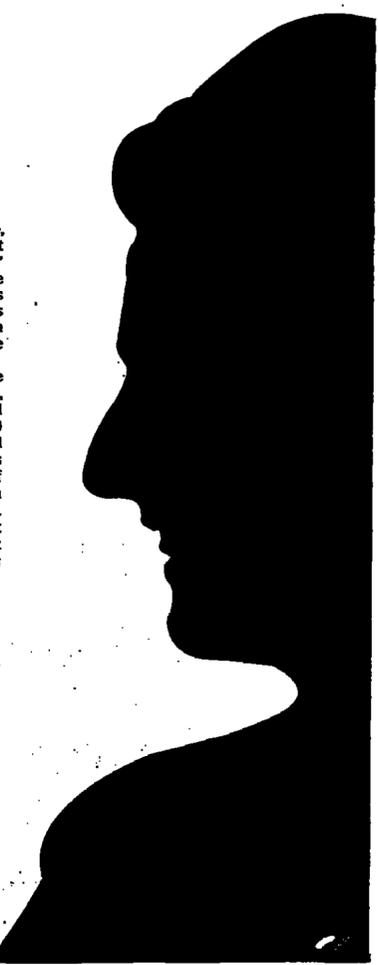
Whether she will have any effect on the outcome of the May 1 election is not clear, but the re-emergence of the woman who led the Tories to three victories between 1979 and 1987 is a reminder of just how profound her influence on British public life continues to be long after the 11 transforming years of her Prime Ministership. An inscription on the architect Christopher Wren's tomb in St. Paul's Cathedral says, "Reader, if you seek his monument, look around you." Last week a London columnist suggested the words could apply to Lady Thatcher.

Blair's Debt

A good place to look was close by St. Paul's, where Tony Blair, leader of the party that he has refashioned into "New Labor," was telling assembled business leaders at the Corn Exchange that his once-socialist party would not reverse any of the privatizations put through by the Conservatives and that it would probably recommend some moves out of the public sector of its own.

Prime Minister Thatcher had put 10 percent of the British economy into private hands during her years in office, and Mr. Blair had at the time described the action as "legislated political corruption." In his

Continued on Page 4



U.S. Courts, Third World Law
Fighting international terrorism isn't always compatible with the U.S. justice system.
By Jan Hoffman. **2**

Philippine Legacy
Memories of Marcos are stirring old passions.
By Seth Mydans. **3**

Weird Science
The Tuskegee experiment's effects endure.
By Jeff Stryker. **2**

Odd Couple
Israel and Turkey are friends. And that explains a lot.
By Stephen Kinzer. **3**



Ideas & Trends

Tuskegee's Long Arm Still Touches a Nerve

By JEFF STRYKER

LAST week, as four of the eight remaining survivors of the Tuskegee syphilis experiments gathered at the Shiloh Baptist Church in Notasulga, Ala., a White House spokeswoman promised that President Clinton would soon formally apologize for the Federal Government's sponsorship of that infamous medical study.

What the spokesman did not say was that even though the "Tuskegee Study of Untreated Syphilis in the Negro Male" ended a quarter of a century ago, some blacks, particularly in the rural South, are still experiencing its effects. So great is the mistrust that grew out of the study that it is continuing to interfere with attempts to fight AIDS in certain black neighborhoods.

According to Cornelius Baker, executive director of the National Association of People with AIDS, an organization that lobbied for Mr. Clinton's apology, "many

Withholding treatment from blacks for 40 years produced a legacy of mistrust about public health programs and a fear of vaccinations.

blacks, especially in the South, simply won't take medicines," because they are afraid of being "killed off as part of the master plan."

The Tuskegee study began in 1932, when the Public Health Service (and later the Centers for Disease Control) decided to follow 400 black men with syphilis without treating them. The subjects, who were recruited from churches and clinics throughout the South, were told only that they had "bad blood."

At the time syphilis was a scourge of southern rural blacks and just as much a stigma as AIDS is today. When the study began, the syphilis rate for black males in Macon County, Ga., for example, was 36 percent.

To determine the natural course of syphilis, re-

searchers withheld from the infected men what was then the standard treatment — mercury and arsenic compounds. Then, in 1947, when penicillin was found to be an effective treatment for syphilis, it too was withheld.

Federal researchers even went so far as to get local physicians to promise not to provide antibiotics to individuals in the study.

The study limped along for four decades, until Peter Buxtun, a lawyer who had once been an epidemiologist for the Public Health Service in San Francisco, went public. On July 25, 1972, the media turned klieg lights on the study and it was halted immediately. But that was not the end of Tuskegee's ill effects.

Starting in the 1980's, as the AIDS epidemic began to spread, Stephen B. Thomas and Sandra Quinn Crouse, who were working to create AIDS education programs in black neighborhoods, noticed that when they discussed AIDS the topic of Tuskegee arose almost invariably.

What they found was that many blacks, particularly those living in the rural South, believed that H.I.V., the virus that causes AIDS, was deliberately created in laboratories to kill black people; that AZT, an early treatment for AIDS, was a plot to poison them; that condom distribution was part of a Government plan to reduce the number of black births, and that needle exchange programs were designed to foment drug use in minority communities.

In a 1990 poll conducted by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 35 percent of 1,956 black churchgoers said they believed that AIDS was a form of genocide.

For many black Americans, this was no surprise at all.

Body-Snatchers

At a hearing sponsored by the National Commission on AIDS to explore the "legacy of mistrust" of Government and medicine in minority communities, Mark Smith, chief executive officer of the California Health Care Foundation, told the tales he heard while treating AIDS patients at Johns Hopkins Hospital.

"One woman told me that she had been cautioned as a child to be home by dark because if she weren't those people from Johns Hopkins would snatch her off the street and experiment on her in the basement at night," he said.

"While people may not have believed this story



The study of untreated syphilis in black men, which ended 25 years ago, may prompt a Presidential apology.

literally," Mr. Smith added, "its widespread repetition is testimony to the gulf between many research institutions and African-American communities."

The story also showed the importance of oral history. "The Tuskegee story is a central part of childhood lore" in many black communities, says Mr. Baker, of the National Association of People with AIDS. It is "one of the definite things we were told by our grandparents."

As the story of Tuskegee was passed along, by word of mouth and even in print, exaggerations crept in. Some published accounts erroneously maintained, for example, that the men in the study were intentionally infected with syphilis (as if the Government's failure to offer known treatments were not egregious enough).

Dr. Thomas, who is now the director of the Institute for Minority Health at Emory University's Rollins School of Public Health, believes that the legacy of Tuskegee has interfered with efforts to prevent and treat AIDS.

He accuses the Nation of Islam, which has promoted AIDS treatments of highly dubious efficacy, of "demagoguing" the issue and "playing the Tuskegee race card."

The Tuskegee legacy reverberates well beyond medical research and AIDS, Dr. Thomas says. He believes Tuskegee is a key reason why blacks are less willing than whites to donate blood, or to become organ donors or to have their children vaccinated.

The Cost of Suspicion

The living victims of Tuskegee range in age from 87 to "somewhere between 100 and 109" according to their lawyer, Fred David Gray, and they have already been paid money damages. An out-of-court settlement in 1974 yielded \$37,500 for each "living syphilitic" and \$15,000 for the heirs of "deceased syphilitics."

But the costs of suspicion have yet to be counted.

A Mideast Dilemma

U.S. Courts, Third World Law

By JAN HOFFMAN

CONSIDER this: A man who has been in prison for 21 months, mostly in solitary confinement, finds the charges against him dropped — murder and conspiracy in connection with political activities abroad. His jailers nonetheless want him expelled from the country, and he is more than eager to comply. There is just one catch: he cannot leave until he confesses that he is a terrorist.

With its totalitarian overtones and prospect of open-ended detention, to say nothing of its circuitous logic, the case would seem to be on a docket in Iraq or China. In fact it has been unfolding in a Manhattan courtroom, where traditional American notions of justice are being strained by foreign policy concerns.

Israel's Turnabout

The case of Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzook is disturbing, and not just because Mr. Abu Marzook, a top fundraiser and political leader of Hamas, the Palestinian militant group, may well be complicit in 10 violent incidents that resulted in 45 deaths, as Israeli authorities contend. In May, a Federal district judge found probable cause that Mr. Abu Marzook, a permanent United States resident who has been detained since July 1995, had committed the crimes and so should face an Israeli tribunal.

But 10 days ago Israel suspended its extradition request, saying it was concerned that a trial could disrupt peace talks as well as provoke retaliatory attacks threatened by Hamas.

That means Mr. Abu Marzook has become an American problem at a moment when the United States is trying to mediate the precarious Mideast talks. He is only the latest foreigner to be caught up in diplomatic crises that have put ordinary people like Cuban and Haitian refugees as well as those who are security risks in unlimited detention.

Mr. Abu Marzook has been returned to the custody of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which will likely resume a shadowy proceeding known as exclusion. He had been arrested at JFK Airport because he was on a "watch list" of suspected terrorists. If found to be one, he can be ejected from the country; to contest the charge might take years.

Early in his detention, Mr. Abu Marzook said he would withdraw his application to re-enter the United States — his family lives in Virginia — and agree to be excluded. But, maintaining that his work for Hamas is purely political, he refused to be labeled a terrorist.

At a hearing Monday, a Federal prosecutor said, in essence, that Mr. Abu Marzook could not have his cake and eat it, too: he cannot withdraw his application without contesting or conceding the terrorism charges.

Mr. Abu Marzook's lawyers took robust advantage of the conundrum.

"What is the price of freedom?" thundered M. Cherif Bassiouni. "Your admission that you are a terrorist when you are not? What does he do? Spend the rest of his life in jail?"

Foreigners generally have diminished legal protections. And particularly when the Government invokes security and foreign policy issues, it can exercise powers so extraordinary that they seem, well, un-American.

Mr. Abu Marzook does not have the right to bail, for example. The exclusion proceeding is closed, and the Government does not have to present all its evidence against him.

"The fundamental premise of our Government is that it is constrained by enumerated and not unlimited powers," said Deborah Anker, a lecturer at Harvard Law School. "Immigration law at its base turns that notion upside down."

An I.N.S. official who requested anonymity said that it is precisely because of the agency's unique and broad authority that it is used as a forum to deal with foreigners deemed security risks. Often, he said, agencies that track terrorists are hamstrung by normal legal procedures "because that would entail open hearings and documented evidence that would compromise intelligence sources."

Naturally, the foreign policy du jour often directs the course of a case. "These security-related cases are the most sensitive to ideological characterization," said Arthur C. Helton, who teaches immigration law at New York University. "One person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter or refugee."

During the McCarthy era, for example, a foreign-born cabinetmaker named Ignatz Mezel tried to return home to Buffalo after attempting to visit his dying mother in Romania. Denied permission to re-enter the United States — on the implicit suspicion that he was a Communist — Mr. Mezel spent nearly three years as a "stateless person" in detention on Ellis Island. In 1953, the Supreme Court said that because he was not an American citizen, he did not have a right to a hearing; he could be held in perpetuity. (He was eventually released.)

Plenty of Time

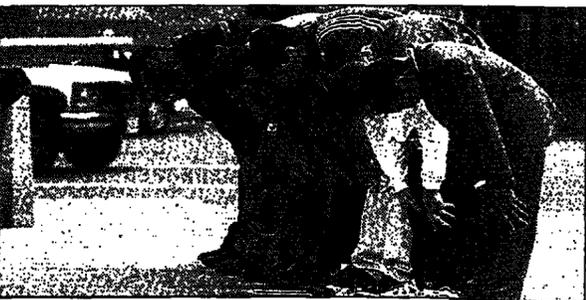
Mr. Abu Marzook could be released through diplomatic channels. Conversely, the dilatory immigration proceedings could serve Israeli interests just fine.

"But there has to come a point at which you say, justify the detention or release him," said Nicholas Rizza, an official with Amnesty International U.S.A., which has not taken a position on the case.

"Eventually, injustice will have been done," said Mr. Rizza. He added that the injustice may be done to Mr. Abu Marzook — or, given that the years are passing without a resolution of the terrorism charges against him, to the victims in Israel.



Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzook in the Federal detention center in January.



During Mr. Marzook's hearing last week, supporters prayed at Foley Square.

New Politics: All or None

Continued From Page 1

down the Federal Government.

With an all-or-nothing approach, both sides endanger their agendas.

The diehard defense of social programs, though, has long been a risky tactic because the programs, by definition, have limited, often powerless constituencies. Only the poor benefit directly from welfare, only minorities and women from affirmative action, only the lucky from rent control. By contrast, everyone has a theoretical interest in Medicare and Social Security, at least everyone who plans to get old, and as a result these programs appear relatively unassailable.

When a program with unchecked abuses loses its credibility, it becomes a broad target for the cost cutters. And when its supporters refuse to address or acknowledge the problems, public frustration only serves to sharpen the knives.

"In a lot of areas of social policy and public policy, we've pushed the envelope of the policy too far," said Peter D. Salins, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute and the author of studies criticizing rent control.

Alan Brinkley, a Columbia University historian whose 1995 book, "The End of Reform" (Alfred A. Knopf), documents the anti-liberal backlash that followed the New Deal, said, "The reason liberals defend these programs almost inflexibly is that a lot of these programs have been frail from the beginning and the reform efforts have been proposed by people hostile to them."

No Quarter

Perhaps the best example is the affirmative action debate in California. Long after the public voiced frustration with fraud in government contracting programs and quotas for state jobs and university admissions, advocates and sympathetic politicians remained resolute, rejecting options to limit affirmative action programs to economically disadvantaged minorities and women. The result: 54 percent of voters approved the California Civil Rights Initiative, or Proposition 209, which bars the state from bringing race or gender into such decisions.

"The advocates for a system completely based on race didn't seem to care that these systems were unsustainable politically and in some instances economically," said Joel T. Kotkin, a senior fellow at the Pepperdine Institute for Public Policy in Malibu. "My argument with my Democratic friends was, hey, look, we generally can get support for things if it's an issue of helping working-class people do a little bit better. But if you make it a program based on collective racial guilt, that isn't going to fly."

The advocates for the more than 2 million New York City rent-control tenants have waged a vigorous fight against any change, despite well-documented cases of movie stars, politicians and millionaires paying a pittance for their apartments. Critics, who want the plan to expire June 15, complain that the system unfairly regulates the market and forces landlords to charge artificially high rents for non-controlled apartments.

The Senate majority leader, Joseph I. Bruno, a Republican upstater supported by campaign contributions from the landlords, has proposed to end rent protections for all but the elderly, poor and disabled. "Rent control in New York City is in a class all its own because it's been going on so long that people see it as an entitlement," he said.

Will advocates for such programs learn from the experiences of the last year? Perhaps, some said.

"I'd like to think this community could learn," Mr. Primus said. "It will be a continuing debate and it will depend on the politics of the moment. But this has been a pretty sobering experience."

The World



Dead but not gone: The corpse of Ferdinand Marcos is paid a visit by his widow.

Marcos Died, but It Didn't Last

By SETH MYDANS

THE electric bill has finally been paid, the air conditioning is back on again, and the embalmed corpse of Ferdinand E. Marcos is not melting. Still unburied eight years after he died — 11 years after he fled the Philippines — the body of the former dictator continues to cause trouble.

The electric company's bill-collecting tactics last month — shutting off the power when Mr. Marcos's wealthy widow, Imelda, claimed she could not afford to pay — have stirred old passions. Mrs. Marcos is still insisting on a hero's burial, and the question of what to do with the body has arisen again to divide the nation.

It may seem a simple thing, deciding the fate of the refrigerated remains in a crypt in Mr. Marcos's home town, Batac. But there is a bigger problem.

The ghost of Ferdinand Marcos himself, it seems, has not yet been laid to rest in the Philippines.

Mr. Marcos dominated the country for 20 years, then fled to Hawaii to die in disgrace.

Memory Lane

But his millions — most people say billions — of dollars in stolen wealth have mostly not been recovered, or even fully accounted for. None of his top lieutenants has been jailed. Most of the court cases against his family remain pending and the allegations of corruption against him have never been proved in court for the historical record. Many of those who hold power today — notably President Fidel V. Ramos — were Marcos men in their day.

Indeed, in a certain way this is still the Marcos Philippines. From the beginning of the campaign that eventually brought down Mr. Marcos in 1986, Corason C. Aquino herself defined her philosophy in terms of the man she was seeking to overthrow. As his successor in the presidency, she vowed, she would be "the complete opposite of Marcos."

Now the major themes of government, politics and nation-building can be defined similarly by contrast with his rule: democratic government and freely contested elections, independent and functioning government institutions, an open and accountable economy, an end to monopolies, decidedly un-imperialist presidents.

But this is not yet a self-confident democracy. Dictatorship has left a legacy of skittishness, and Filipinos are hypersensitive to any government



Accustomed to defacing: Marcos mega-bust.

actions that might bring back the past. An initiative to amend the constitution to allow Mr. Ramos a second term is being met by threats to revive the popular uprisings called "people power." A tough anti-terrorism law proposed last year was rejected by the public as smacking of repression. Moves toward instituting a national system of identity cards have raised fears that freedoms will again be curtailed.

No, I'm Not Him

"Basically, we are dealing with a ghost," a leading journalist said. "Every time there seems to be a move to restrict civil liberties, Marcos haunts the debate. Ramos has to keep saying over and over again that he is not Marcos. The wounds are in many respects still very raw. The psyche is still traumatized."

With power so distrusted, inordinate store is put in what might otherwise seem unremarkable exercises of freedom — as when the once-dodged Supreme Court frustrates presidential initia-

Burying this man's body is no easy thing. Neither is burying his legacy.

tives at will, a congressman is arrested for rape, and a tycoon is charged with tax evasion.

One major legacy of the Marcos years, though, remains intractable: widespread corruption that saps the economy and separates the common man from the rich and well connected.

There are those who say it is time to bury the past: Let Mr. Marcos's body be laid to rest in the Hero's Cemetery in Manila as his widow demands. After all, proponents argue, a police dog that was killed in one of the coup attempts against Mrs. Aquino is buried there.

Filipinos love a good, noisy debate. "If we forgive Marcos, we might as well give sainthood to Judas!" proclaimed the newspaper columnist Max V. Soliven.

And Mrs. Marcos knows a good dramatic role when she sees one. "No music, no flowers," she pleaded. "He was a simple man."

One congressman, Bernardo Vergara, is proposing a compromise: Bury him here in Tuba, in the Cordillera Mountains 200 miles south of his home town, beside a bizarre, three-story concrete bust of himself that the late president ordered built on a steep hillside.

It is the young Marcos the sculptor captured, with his hair in a Ronald Reagan pompadour, gazing coolly out across his domain as if he would rule forever.

When he was ousted in 1986, some of his angry countrymen tried to blow up the statue but succeeded only in creating a small hole behind one ear. But time is accomplishing what they failed to do. The concrete shell is beginning to chip away, like a Philippine *Oryzias*, revealing the wire mesh beneath it.

"He looks lonely," said Rainer Rivera, one of his diminishing corps of loyalists who had brought his family to gaze at the bust through tiny binoculars.

Abandoned and mostly forgotten, the colossal wreck is disappearing into the surrounding underbrush: pink, purple and white bougainvillea, Christmas palms, guava and avocado trees and the tall grass called talahib. Birds chirp in the sunshine, crickets buzz, and a gecko lizard quacks from somewhere up around the Marcos forehead.

Israel and Turkey

The Mideast's New Friendship

By STEPHEN KINZER

WHEN the fiery Islamic politician Necmettin Erbakan took office as Prime Minister of Turkey last June, it was logical to expect that he would tone down his passionate denunciations of "Zionist imperialism" and stop calling for a jihad to liberate Jerusalem. But few expected to see him sitting down for a friendly chat with the Israeli Foreign Minister.

That improbable meeting took place last week at the Foreign Ministry in Ankara. True to form, a group of protesters assembled in Istanbul to burn an Israeli flag and declare the visiting dignitary, David Levy, "persona non grata." What was remarkable was not the protest, but the fact that Mr. Erbakan, who a year ago might have led it, was now its target.

Deepening the Ties

During his visit, Mr. Levy met with several high-ranking Turkish officials in addition to Prime Minister Erbakan, discussing civilian cooperation and ways to increase trade. But undoubtedly his most substantive meeting was with the chief of the Turkish general staff, Gen. Ismail Hakkı Karadayı. They reviewed the rapidly expanding Turkish-Israeli security relationship and agreed to deepen it.

Over the last two years, Turkey and Israel have quietly forged a remarkable program of military cooperation; in the process, they have created what is now the most powerful military friendship in the Middle East. The relationship is continuing to develop, improving the security of both countries even as relations between Israel and the Palestinians deteriorate, and as the entire region faces the rise of fundamentalist Islamic movements.

In particular, the relationship can only make Israeli leaders more confident that they can take tough positions in dealing with their Arab neighbors. An alliance with Turkey could go a long way toward neutralizing Syria in any major crisis. It could also make Syria think twice about stirring up trouble to Israel's north, however preoccupied Israel may be with quelling unrest among the Palestinians.

Leave religion out of it. Both lands have long been at odds with Arabs, notably Syria.

Solidarity between Turks and Jews stems in part from their common history of conflict with Arabs. Turks ruled much of Arabia until early in this century, when their rule was overturned in a series of British-backed rebellions; Israel has lived its whole national life in conflict with some or all of its Arab neighbors. Today both countries count Syria and Iraq, together with Iran, as threats to their security.

Turkey's military planners portray their country as caught inside a "Berruda Triangle" of chaos, with the Middle East on one side, the Caucasus on another and the Balkans, including their traditional rival Greece, on the third. Like the Israelis, they feel the need for a strong friend nearby.

These cold strategic calculations are the basis for a growing military

relationship. Israeli technicians are now directing a \$600 million program to modernize Turkish fighter jets. Israeli pilots are practicing maneuvers in Turkey's vast airspace — and, according to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, are "almost certainly" flying reconnaissance missions aimed at nearby countries like Syria and Iraq. Turkish and Israeli cadets and officers attend each other's military academies. Naval units hold maneuvers off each other's coasts.

Some analysts predicted that these arrangements would collapse after Prime Minister Erbakan took office last year. If Mr. Erbakan had remained faithful to the oratory he used during his 30 years in opposition, they might have. But after he made some anti-Israel statements early in his term, the Turkish military, which views itself as the country's long-term guardian above and beyond politics, stepped in. Publicly and privately, commanders lectured Mr. Erbakan on the security value of Turkish-Israeli ties. To show the world that they had persuaded him, the senior commander, General Karadayı, flew to Tel Aviv in Febru-

Air force and naval cooperation add up to the area's hottest new military fact of life.

ary and pledged faithful friendship. "Turkey will not share your military information with others," he told the Israelis, "nor will we pass your military technology to other nations."

Not surprisingly, nearby countries have been sharply critical of Turkey. In February leaders of Syria, Egypt and Saudi Arabia issued a joint appeal urging Turkey to reconsider. Iran and Greece also complained. The Turkish Foreign Ministry responded tartly that the wave of protest "does not concern us at all."

Wielding Pincers

If this new alliance has a principal target, it is Syria, which borders both Turkey and Israel and harbors longstanding grievances against both. Suddenly it finds itself facing a powerful alliance with pincers on its northern and western borders. It can no longer think of confronting either country without worrying about retaliation from the other.

The alliance also alters the Greek-Turkish balance. Greece and Syria maintain good ties based on their shared antagonism to Turkey, and Greek strategic planners have long assumed that if Greece and Turkey were to face off in the Aegean, they could count on Syria to mobilize its army and keep many Turkish troops tied down in the southeast. Under the new power constellation, Syria could not do so without expecting counterpressures from Israel.

Most Turks, with the exception of pan-Islamists in Prime Minister Erbakan's party, seem to support their country's embrace of Israel. Despite widespread anger here at Israel's treatment of Palestinians, they believe that the friendship is in their national interest. Evidently Mr. Erbakan agrees, which suggests that his Turkish nationalism is stronger than his Islamic militancy. He is also bowing to a reality of Turkish political life that has remained unchanged since the founding of the Republic 74 years ago: In important security questions, the military makes key decisions and the Government follows.



The Israeli Foreign Minister, David Levy, left, meets in Ankara with the Turkish chief of staff, Gen. Ismail Hakkı Karadayı, right.



In Currency Trading, A McIndicator

THE Chinese yuan is the world's most undervalued currency, selling for barely half its real value against the dollar. And the Swiss franc is the most overvalued, selling for 66 percent more than it is worth against the dollar.

At least that's what the Big Mac index says.

The somewhat whimsical index, developed by The Economist, the British weekly magazine, measures the average cost of a Big Mac at McDonald's restaurants around the world, and uses that figure to estimate just how much a currency's valuation deviates from real value.

The latest figures show that the average price of a Big Mac in the United States, including taxes, is \$2.42. That compares to \$4.02 in Switzerland and just \$1.16 in China.

The index assumes that if a Big Mac costs less than \$2.42 under current exchange rates in another country, then the local currency is undervalued.

It sounds a little wacky, but as a forecasting device the Big Mac index hasn't done badly.

Two years ago, the index indicated that the Japanese yen was valued at almost twice its real worth. Now, since the dollar has soared against the yen, the conclusion is that the yen is just about fairly valued.

The Economist proudly notes that during the last year, when eight major currencies rose or fell by at least 10 percent in value, the Big Mac index got the direction right for seven of them. That record is, it reports, "better than some highly paid currency forecasters."

FLOYD NORRIS

ECONOMY

A Plodding Ma Bell and Her Precocious Child

By MARK LANDLER

IT WAS NOT supposed to play out this way.

When AT&T's chairman, Robert E. Allen, yielded the lectern to the chief operating officer, John R. Walter, at a meeting for analysts last month, the passing of the torch was almost painful to watch.

Mr. Allen, pale and pinched from recent heart surgery, murmured an apology for AT&T's wobbly performance in 1996, while Mr. Walter, tanned and exuding the confidence of an heir apparent, promised to turn the company around.

What a far cry from Sept. 20, 1995, when Mr. Allen presided over another crowded meeting to announce that the AT&T Corporation was splitting itself into three companies.

Then, Mr. Allen seemed the very embodiment of a corporate visionary, boldly breaking up his \$75 billion empire to ready it for the rough and tumble of competition.

But today, the nation's largest telephone company is adrift in rolling seas. And whatever stardust showered on Mr. Allen two years ago has long since drifted over to Lucent Technologies Inc., the equipment manufacturing business that AT&T spun off and took public in the largest and one of the most successful stock offerings in history.

While deregulation was expected to benefit Lucent more than AT&T, few thought the gap in performance would be quite so stark.

Freed from the suffocating embrace of its parent, Lucent has been able to sell its equipment to a growing army of competitors. Now these companies are aiming their weapons directly at AT&T, whose 90 million customers are ripe for the picking.

At a time when the long-distance industry is growing 7 percent annually, AT&T is expected to report sharply lower earnings this year. New rivals are already cutting into the company's core business, and the pace of competition is only going to intensify.

With AT&T still struggling to mobilize an effective response, analysts are reluctant even to predict when the company might recover its historical growth rate.

"We're moving from an oligopolistic market to a competitive market," said Daniel Reingold, a telecommunications analyst at Merrill Lynch. "This isn't doomsday for AT&T—it's just bad news for AT&T shareholders."

Mr. Allen defends the breakup on the grounds that AT&T unlocked almost \$40 billion in shareholder value. Lucent, as a stand-alone company, now has a market capitalization of

\$32.4 billion. NCR, the troubled computer maker that was the third leg of AT&T's stool, is valued at \$3.3 billion as a separate publicly traded company.

"The timing was exactly right," Mr. Allen said last week. "The whole idea was to avoid the destruction of shareholder value."

Indeed, several analysts said that if Mr. Allen had not split the company when he did, the equipment arm would have been strangled by conflicts between its parent and its customers. And Lucent would have missed the explosion of demand for new switching and transmission equipment.

Viewed another way, though, Lucent's buoyant stock price has merely cushioned AT&T's shareholders from the dismal performance of the mother company. AT&T's shares have dropped 22 percent since the breakup was announced, on an adjusted basis. On a sum-of-the-parts basis, however, the decline is only 8.6 percent—from \$7.625 the day before the split was announced to a total of \$2.635 for the three stocks on Friday.

"The alternative is that this combination of companies would be trading in the low 40s," said Jeffrey P. Williams, a former senior banker at Morgan Stanley who advised AT&T on the "trivestiture."

Even so, the three-way split bears a disquieting similarity to the 1994 spinoff of Airtouch Communications by Pacific Telesis Group. Airtouch proceeded to ride a wave of growth in the wireless industry, while Pacific Telesis muddled along in California's increasingly competitive local phone market.

Last year, it agreed to be acquired by SBC Communications. No question, AT&T is far more battle-tested than Pachtel. At the time of the split, AT&T had already been competing for two decades with MCI and Sprint. Although its share of the consumer market had dropped from 95 percent in 1984 to 76 percent in 1995, its experience in those marketing wars made many experts confident that the company would be able to handle the coming battles.

The advantage of the trivestiture was that it would allow the company's executives to focus with a laser intensity on the phone business. On Friday, AT&T sold off one of its last noncore assets, its undersea cable operations, for \$850 million to Tyco International, which makes fiber-optic cable.

But now AT&T is getting its first taste of a second wave of competition from an array of new rivals—large and small—that have lured away customers with promises of cheaper

rates. And so far, the company's response to the threat has been surprisingly flat-footed.

Last month's extraordinary two-day analyst meeting at AT&T's headquarters in Basking Ridge, N.J., was held in part to demonstrate that the company was confronting this problem. After acknowledging that AT&T did not perform adequately last year, Mr. Allen showed off the team of executives who would be defending the barricades.

Chief among them is Mr. Walter, whom AT&T hired as chief operating officer last November and who will succeed Mr. Allen as chief executive next year. Gail J. McGovern, the head of AT&T's \$24.7 billion consumer markets division, and Jeffrey Weitzman, who runs the \$21.6 billion business markets division, have emerged as Mr. Walter's key lieutenants.

People familiar with the company said AT&T was also looking at two senior executives from regional Bell companies to replace its chief financial officer, Richard W. Miller, who resigned in February. They are James S. Kahan of SBC Communications and Charles C. Miller of BellSouth.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Walter gave a smooth and self-assured presentation at the meeting—announcing both ambitious capital spending and stringent cost-cutting initiatives—several analysts said they were skeptical that he had a solution to AT&T's basic business quandary.

"He's got the historic changes of the Telecommunications Act crashing in around him," said one former senior AT&T executive, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "There are deep structural problems in how that firm is positioned to compete in this environment." The act, which Congress passed last year, will allow the seven regional Bell companies into AT&T's market after their local monopolies are opened to competition.

Not all of AT&T's problems stem from deregulation. The company's executive ranks have been thinned by the departure of several senior managers, and its credit card division has been hurt by declining card usage. But the nub of AT&T's problem is the erosion in its core long-distance franchise. AT&T's market share slipped from 76 percent in 1995 to 68 percent last year, as customers left for rivals ranging from the GTE Corporation and the Southern New England Telephone Company to discount carriers like Excel Communications and so-called dial-around services, like CTS World Xchange.

The trend is all the more alarming, analysts said, because the Government has not yet allowed the regional Bell companies into AT&T's market. When those well-financed players—the offspring of AT&T's first breakup, in 1984—begin jockeying for customers in their regions, the trickle could turn into a flood.

"There's only so much that AT&T can do to defend against new competitors that, every day, are finding channels to reach AT&T's customers," said Eric Struminger, an analyst at Paine Webber.

UNTIL now, the company has coped with the exodus by enticing consumers to switch to AT&T in return for checks of \$25 to \$100. But the checks cost AT&T \$1 billion in 1996. And they have not bought loyalty: AT&T has often been jilted by people who switch again when the next carrier dangles a fatter check in front of them.

As of January, Ms. McGovern said AT&T had cut the number of checks it was mailing in half. By the end of 1997, she intends to reduce the share of new customers wooed by checks to 20 percent, from 60 percent.

Still, Ms. McGovern acknowledged that it would be difficult to kick the check-writing habit immediately. "The reason we aren't going cold turkey is that customers are used to getting checks," she said.

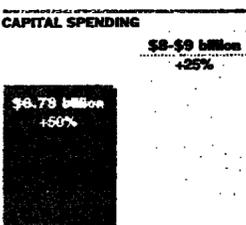
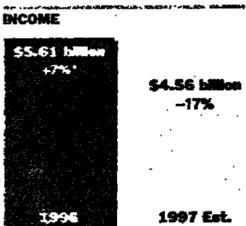
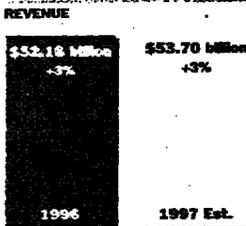
Southern New England, which offers local and long-distance service in Connecticut, said AT&T had branched customers with checks for \$25, \$35 and \$100 as recently as last week. AT&T has been in a lively battle with S.N.E.T. for two years, and analysts estimate that S.N.E.T. has already grabbed 23 percent of the long-distance revenue in the state.

One way Ms. McGovern hopes to rebuild loyalty is by giving free minutes of long-distance time to customers as a reward for sticking with the company. (No commitment was needed to receive a check under the previous program.) She also plans to draw on AT&T's other business units to offer a package of communications services—everything from local and long-distance to cellular and Internet access.

And she is collaborating with Mr. Weitzman to devise new programs that link consumer and business marketing. When AT&T signed a \$45 million contract with Kmart last month to replace MCI as the retailer's primary telecommunications provider, it also offered a calling card to Kmart's 275,000 employees that doubles as a discount card for buying goods at any Kmart store. Under the arrangement, Kmart will receive a commission for every employee who

Treading Water

The financial outlook for AT&T and the percentage change in each category from the previous year.



*Calculated to exclude restructuring and other charges related to the breakup. Reported net income for 1995 was actually \$139 million after the charges.

Sources: Company reports; Merrill Lynch & Company

capital spending this year, and of that, \$5 billion is going to upgrade AT&T's network to carry sophisticated data services for major business clients.

The magnitude of AT&T's investment worries some analysts—and not just because it will dilute earnings this year. Their fear is that AT&T is pouring money into its wires and switches at the very time that transport capacity is becoming something of a commodity.

There are already three nationwide fiber-optic networks: those of AT&T, MCI and Sprint. Two more are being built by Qwest Communications of Denver and Worldcom, a long-distance carrier based in Jackson, Miss. With so many networks to choose from, companies like Excel—which lease lines from long-distance carriers and resell the service—will be able to demand ever-more-favorable wholesale rates. And that will enable them to continue undercutting AT&T's best long-distance rate of 15 cents a minute.

But Frank Governali, an analyst at Credit Suisse First Boston, says the huge investment worries him for a different reason. He wonders if the size of the commitment is a signal that AT&T's existing network is not technologically advanced enough.

For his part, Mr. Weitzman said AT&T was simply responding to an increase in voice traffic and the explosive growth in data. "We're filling up the network as quickly as we build it," he said.

TELEPHONE traffic is not the only thing that AT&T cannot control these days. Deregulation also seems to be coming off the rails, as Federal officials struggle to strip \$23 billion in subsidies out of the industry while still guaranteeing affordable local phone service. Long-distance carriers currently help underwrite the cost of providing local service by paying inflated access charges to the Bell companies.

The Federal Communications Commission is drafting rules that would erase these subsidies, but it may not be able to finish by its May 8 deadline. A delay could give the Baby Bells an excuse to drag their heels in letting AT&T into the local market. And the company says its future depends on being able to offer a seamless package of local and long-distance service.

"I'm frankly disappointed if there is any serious discussion about delaying matters," Mr. Allen said. "We shouldn't let the regulators and Congress off the hook for making tough decisions."

AT&T has made baby steps into local service in California, Connecticut, Illinois and Michigan, and plans to enter Georgia shortly. By the end of the year, Mr. Allen wants the company to be in 15 states. But progress on the ground has been slow. In California, Pachtel is still manually processing the orders of customers who asked to switch their local service to AT&T. That means AT&T can switch over only 400 customers a day, far fewer than the 5,000 a day it believes it could handle.

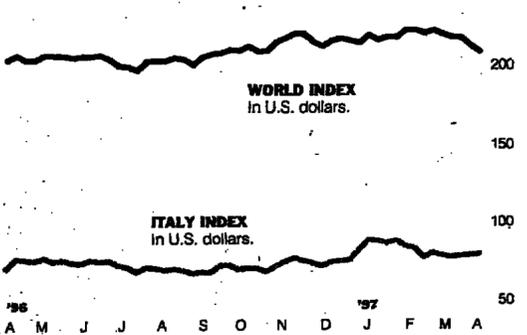
Apart from the administrative headaches, several analysts said it would simply be easier for the Bell companies to expand into long-distance than for AT&T to break into local service in every state. "The Baby Bells know what each community is all about," said Jeffrey Kagan, the president of Kagan Telecom Associates, a consulting firm in Atlanta. "AT&T has got to spread its resources seven ways."

With so many challenges, few analysts are advising investors to buy AT&T stock, even at its current depressed price of \$33.625 a share. Unless the company's expansion into local service takes off, most experts say the shares will move sideways for the next two years.

For all that, Mr. Allen seems to have recovered his aplomb from the recent meeting. He said AT&T's management team was in place, Mr. Walter was proving to be a quick learner and his own recovery from heart surgery was ahead of schedule. "These things are mostly in the mind, I've discovered," he said.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Table with columns: PERFORMANCE, IN U.S. DOLLARS, IN LOCAL CURR. Rows include Country, Index, Week % Chg, Rank, YTD % Chg, Rank, Dividend Yield, Index, % Chg, YTD % Chg.



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

Table with columns: Exchange rates, Friday, Last Friday, Week % Chg, Year Ago. Rows include Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar, German marks to the U.S. dollar, Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar, U.S. dollars to the British pound.

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

UPS AND DOWNS

April 7-11: The Dow Falls 134 Points on Inflation Fears; Bonds Drop, Too

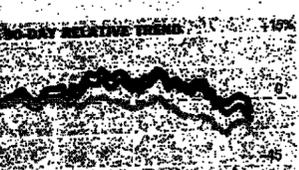
Table with columns: DOMESTIC EQUITIES, Domestic Equities, Down 2.67%, S. & P. 500 Index 737.65, Blue chips Down 2.06%, Dow 30 Industrials 6,391.69, Small capitalization Down 0.47%, Russell 2000 Index 339.25

Table with columns: DOMESTIC BONDS, Treasuries Down 0.17%, Ryan Labs. Total Return 191.55, Municipals Down 0.36%, Bond Buyer Index 113.06, Corporates Down 0.16%, Merrill Lynch Master Index 838.12

Table with columns: AROUND THE WORLD, European stocks Down 0.19%, F.T.-Actuaries Europe 240.06, Asian stocks Down 2.40%, F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin 128.65, Gold Down 0.68%, New York cash price \$349.30

Table with columns: YIELDS, Bonds, Long bonds 7.16%, 30-year Treasuries Up 4 basis pts., Notes 6.49%, 2-year Treasuries Up 9 basis pts., Municipals 6.01%, Bond Buyer Index Up 3 basis pts.

Table with columns: OTHER INVESTMENTS, Money market funds 4.91%, Taxable average Down 5 basis pts., Bank C.D.'s 5.18%, 1-year small savers Up 3 basis pts., Stocks 2.06%, S. & P. 500 dividend yield Up 5 b.p.



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Dalastrom; Goldman, Sachs; IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs

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Hubbell Trouble

As far as Hillary Rodham Clinton is concerned, all the talk about hush money for Webster Hubbell is just so much rubbish. She calls it part of the "never-ending fictional conspiracy" of Whitewater and likens it to an obsession with U.F.O.'s and the Hale-Bopp comet. It would be a relief if that were so, but unfortunately the Hubbell matter cannot be so easily dismissed.

The White House line that officials knew little if anything about some \$400,000 in payments to Mr. Hubbell when he got into legal trouble in 1994 has come undone in recent weeks. Every few days brings a new disclosure that close associates of Mr. Clinton and his wife not only knew about efforts to raise money for Mr. Hubbell but were centrally involved themselves. The impression left is that the Hubbell rescue effort may have been a calculated plan to keep a man who knew a great deal about Whitewater from cooperating with prosecutors.

Whether the White House is lying or merely so disorganized it cannot get to the truth, its credibility on the Hubbell case has been shattered. It is hard not to wince every time Michael McCurry or Lanny Davis offers a new explanation, only to see it impeached within hours by additional information. At some point someone who cares about his own reputation will step forward to say what has long been obvious: The Clintons and the circle of advisers that came with them from Arkansas routinely hang their spokesmen out to dry with misleading and incomplete information.

The sequence of official statements about payments to Mr. Hubbell is instructional and disheartening. Last June, Presidential aide Bruce Lindsey told Senate investigators that in late 1994 he learned about a \$100,000 fee paid to Mr. Hubbell in June of that year by a Hong Kong company owned by James Riady. Mr. Riady is an Indonesian businessman who was a longtime Clinton friend and Democratic Party donor. Mr. Lindsey said he did not inform anyone else at the White House.

Last December, Mr. McCurry, the White House press secretary, blithely declared that no one at the White House knew about the Riady payment until press reports early last year. The next month he had to amend the flat statement by reporting Mr. Lindsey's earlier knowledge.

This past January Mr. Clinton said that he first heard of the payment when he read about it in the newspapers in February 1996 and no one in the White House knew about it before it happened. The White House subsequently said Mr. Clinton might have heard about other business deals for Mr. Hubbell sometime in 1994.

More recently, the White House acknowledged that several of Mr. Clinton's closest aides tried to arrange jobs for Mr. Hubbell in 1994. Last week Jeff Gerth and Stephen Labaton of The Times disclosed that a dozen or so officials were involved in helping Mr. Hubbell, and, in some cases, monitoring his cooperation with the Whitewater investigation.

Given the involvement of several of Mr. Clinton's closest associates, it seems remarkable that none of them ever told the President. Thomas McLarty, one of the President's oldest friends and his first chief of staff, helped arrange at least four jobs for Mr. Hubbell. In March 1994, as Mr. Hubbell was preparing to resign as Associate Attorney General, Mr. McLarty told Mrs. Clinton of his desire to assist Mr. Hubbell. She gave her approval or at least acknowledgment.

Mickey Kantor, Mr. Clinton's 1992 campaign chairman and later his trade representative and Commerce Secretary, and Erskine Bowles, the current chief of staff, also tried to help Mr. Hubbell find work. Mark Middleton, a Clinton friend and White House aide who quit in 1995 to pursue Asian business deals, apparently was aware of Mr. Riady's assistance by the fall of 1994. Mr. Middleton was in frequent touch with the White House.

Keeping Mr. Clinton in the dark about the lifeline being thrown to one of his oldest friends

could be a coincidence, as the White House suggests. Another possible explanation is that a concerted effort was made not to inform Mr. Clinton so he could plausibly deny any knowledge. Then again, maybe Mr. Clinton was given a fuller report and that will be the next bit of crucial information that has been withheld by the White House.

Understanding precisely what happened with Mr. Hubbell back in 1994 is critical because the actions of Clinton aides may have been an attempt to impede the Whitewater investigation. Under Title 18, Section 1512 of the United States Criminal Code, it is a felony violation to obstruct justice by tampering with a witness in a criminal investigation.

The White House insists such speculation is groundless. Mr. Clinton said recently that the effort to aid Mr. Hubbell was motivated purely by compassion and that any notion about hush money is nonsense because everyone thought at the time that Mr. Hubbell's legal problems involved a simple billing dispute with his old law firm in Little Rock.

That explanation looks wobbly in the context of the established facts and timetable. It misses the vital point that the Clintons and Mr. Lindsey, at least, knew long before the billing dispute arose that Mr. Hubbell possessed extensive knowledge about the Whitewater case. Once a Whitewater independent counsel was appointed in January 1994, it was obvious that Mr. Hubbell could be a potentially crucial witness. By March 1994 he had already been questioned by Federal regulators about his role and Mrs. Clinton's in the case of a failed savings and loan association later accused of corruption. The Whitewater prosecutor had issued subpoenas about a fraudulent land transaction involving Mr. Hubbell's father-in-law. Mrs. Clinton had done some legal work on the transaction.

One conclusion leaps out from this chronology. By the time the billing dispute arose, it could have been clear to White House aides that if Mr. Hubbell felt financially squeezed by his situation and abandoned by the Clintons, he might have had a strong motivation to cooperate with the Whitewater investigation. Mr. Hubbell would know as well as anyone whether the Whitewater real estate deal and related financial transactions involved potentially illegal conduct like fraudulent bank loans or tax evasion.

Robert Fiske, the first Whitewater independent counsel, and Kenneth Starr, his successor, pursued the billing dispute largely because both Mr. Hubbell and the Rose Law Firm figured so centrally in the Whitewater case. Mr. Hubbell had worked at the firm with Mrs. Clinton and Vincent Foster, who later became a deputy White House counsel and committed suicide in July 1993. In addition to his involvement in some of the Whitewater transactions that most interested investigators, Mr. Hubbell had helped prepare the Clintons' sanitized version of the affair during the 1992 campaign. He also removed records from the law firm that were wanted by investigators, storing them in his basement while serving as Associate Attorney General.

Anyone concerned about the Whitewater investigation could have easily recognized by the spring of 1994 that Mr. Hubbell might eventually be pressed by investigators to cooperate in return for more lenient handling of the billing matter. In the end, Mr. Hubbell pleaded guilty to two felony counts for bilking \$400,000 from the firm. He served an 18-month sentence and has steadfastly refused to help Whitewater prosecutors.

All of this may just be a series of coincidences unfairly juxtaposed by suspicious minds. The Clintons through their lawyer say they never asked or suggested that anyone hire Mr. Hubbell. Still, Mr. Starr is right to be curious whether Mr. Hubbell was being taken care of financially to assure his loyalty. A Federal grand jury in Little Rock that is now hearing testimony about the Hubbell case will ultimately decide whether the Hale-Bopp comet has cast a spell over everyone or whether criminal conduct may have taken place.

Burying Mobutuism

When the White House press secretary, Michael McCurry, declared last week that "Mobutuism is about to become a creature of history," he signaled the end of a long and unattractive chapter of American policy in Africa. Washington backed Mobutu Sese Seko through most of a 32-year reign in Zaire as he stifled the country's political development and looted its resource-rich economy.

American support reflected cold-war calculations. Mr. Mobutu rose to power by defeating forces loyal to the country's leftist independence leader, Patrice Lumumba. He repeatedly lent Zaire's territory to movements fighting neighboring pro-Soviet regimes. Mr. Mobutu was also a favorite of Western mining companies and their allies in the French and Belgian Governments, even though his misrule and corruption drove Zaire's economy to collapse.

Since the end of the cold war, Washington has been visibly distancing itself from Mr. Mobutu, but not vigorously enough at first to help dislodge him from power and give a chance to the democratic opposition movement that has been led for more than a decade by Etienne Tshisekedi.

Instead, the main threat to Mr. Mobutu has emerged from an opposition army commanded by Laurent Kabila, a surviving Lumumba loyalist who has won new backing from Zaire's eastern neigh-

bors, Rwanda and Uganda. Beginning his operations six months ago near the Rwandan border, Mr. Kabila now controls nearly half of Zaire's territory.

With Mr. Mobutu refusing to surrender and Mr. Tshisekedi still hoping to play a role in any successor regime, the outcome remains uncertain. A military triumph by the Kabila forces alone would be troubling. Although Mr. Kabila has revived economic activity in areas he controls, he has shown little commitment to political pluralism and his forces have reportedly brutalized helpless refugees. Washington is right to try to broker a cease-fire and a political transition. But its influence is limited at this late point.

The United States has recently begun to develop a constructive post-cold-war approach to Africa. That has allowed it to move out from the shadows of former colonial powers like France and Belgium. Those countries, though now rushing to write off Mr. Mobutu, still view African politics through political loyalties and mining concessions.

In welcome contrast, Washington has recently made clear its preference for civilian-based regimes, exerted useful pressure for multiparty elections and encouraged and supported market-opening reforms. That healthy approach should define America's policy to Zaire's next leaders.

Archive Cutbacks Cripple Access to Our Past

To the Editor:
Frank Rich's excellent column "Founding Fathers Get Lost" (April 6) scratches the surface of the threat the nation's historical memory faces.

The two hammer blows he describes — the National Endowment for the Humanities' budget cutbacks and the bipartisan threat to hijack the National Historical Publications and Records Commission from its statutory and historic mission — will cripple Americans' access to the raw material of their past.

The Founding Fathers projects will be only the most prominent victims of these unwise policies.

Projects across the nation are producing well-annotated editions of the papers of Albert Einstein and Jane Addams, Frederick Douglass and Henry Clay, Margaret Sanger and

the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., John C. Calhoun and Salmon P. Chase, and dozens of others.

In addition there are documentary histories that bring to life the struggles of a people seeking to learn to govern themselves, as with the Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution and the Documentary History of the First Federal Congress.

A particularly noteworthy project, called "Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation," offers evidence that the slaves not only were architects of their own emancipation, but that they heroically threw themselves into the struggle of learning how to be free, responsible citizens.

These pennywise and pound-foolish policies are destined to damage both historians and documentary

editors and archivists in the short term, professionals in the long and the American people in the long run.

RICHARD B. BERNSTEIN
New York, April 10, 1997
The writer is an adjunct professor at the New York Law School.

Focus on New Records

To the Editor:
Contrary to Frank Rich, the Founding Fathers papers are not about to disappear (column, April 6), at least of all because of revised priorities in the plans of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, of which I am executive director.

We revised our priorities to give precedence in grant-making to projects to save historical records and open them for use. Most Founding Fathers papers already are accessible in the National Archives, the Library of Congress, the University of Virginia, the Massachusetts Historical Society and other repositories. Many are even available on microfilm.

One priority is to continue investment in research and development projects to help archivists learn to save, evaluate and provide access to today's computer-generated records. Our other priority is to help state historical boards plan for meeting documentary needs. These grants, for which states must compete, help preserve records on a wide range of historical subjects and periods.

GERALD GEORGE
Washington, April 8, 1997

Why Men Find 'Casual Fridays' Suitable

To the Editor:
Perhaps your April 9 front-page article "What Vanity and Casual Fridays Wrought" should have been titled "Fashion for Confusion."

As a corporate image consultant, I often provide advice for men perplexed over what to wear when a company announces a casual Friday dress policy. Does that mean khakis and a polo shirt? A tie that illustrates your hobby or favorite sports team? The rules are usually unwritten, as if everybody somehow knows what "business casual" means. Listening to my clients, I'm certain there's more confusion than consensus.

One C.P.A. told me he always schedules at least one client meeting on Fridays so he can wear suits, rather than fretting over putting together a casual look. Getting it right is critical to his career success and to the firm he represents. Getting it wrong sends the message to a client that "I can't handle your business."

What constitutes acceptable "business casual" attire is different from industry to industry, company to company — even department to department. Men end up looking for



excuses to wear a suit — it's safe and the rules are clear.

Perhaps retail buyers should leave their fashion environments and spend a day in corporate settings. They would better understand the pressure on men to express themselves creatively while still fitting the image.

ALLIE CASEY
Massapequa, L.I., April 10, 1997

Philadelphia Teachers Face Tough Odds

To the Editor:
Brent Staples' comments in "Philadelphia School Wars" (Editorial Notebook, April 6), on the possibility of school vouchers for the city's students, are off the mark. Voucher systems avoid the problems of our public schools when we need to confront them.

I have taught in the Philadelphia School District for almost 30 years. Most teachers try, against tough odds, to do a good job. Some don't, and become part of the problem.

But one of our most difficult obsta-

cles in Philadelphia over the decades has been an administrative culture that has as a core value confrontation with the teachers. Teacher-bashing is a time-honored sport in this town, which the current superintendent of schools, David Hornbeck, has raised to a new height with his proposal to "seize" two high schools and transfer 75 percent of their teaching staffs because of low student achievement, as if that were a magic solution.

Along with his other changes in school organization and curriculum, this proposal is a sham intended to create a sense of a sea change in a system that is simply at sea. But what else can you expect from a school district that spends more on public relations than it does on science labs?

STEVE SILVERBERG
Newtown, Pa., April 6, 1997

Poetry's Sorry State

To the Editor:

It is perhaps not surprising that Robert Pinsky offers an apology for a "National Poetry Month"; after all, he is the Poet Laureate of the United States (Op-Ed, April 10). One could quibble with his invoking poetry's value as a mnemonic device, but to do so would neglect a larger point. National months are no better than bland or marginal causes; American poetry has the rare distinction of being both bland and marginal.

Poetry is largely unread in this country not because it is poetry, but because it is not very good. In its relentless insistence on issues of personal identity at the expense of humanity as a whole, American poetry has followed the culture into banality. Poetry exists not at the margins of society, but at its core. When American poetry again has something to say, ceases mumbling and speaks to the urgency of life beyond the self, it will be read again. The only dignified advertisement for poetry is that rarest of things: a good poem.

JONATHAN ADAM MUNK
New York, April 10, 1997

Sneakers Won't Help

To the Editor:
I am writing in response to your April 11 news article on Donald Trump's acting as principal for a day at Public School 70 in the Bronx.

What struck me was when 11-year-old Andres Rodriguez asked Mr. Trump why he wasn't giving out scholarships instead of sneakers. It seems to me the child was right.

These children live with despair every day of their lives. Instead of choosing 30 children for whom to buy sneakers, why couldn't Mr. Trump take every child out for sneakers, or, better yet, put a child through a year at a private school? Mr. Trump talked about the American dream. I doubt most of the children at P.S. 70 know what the American dream is.

ANNEMARIE FERGUSON
Chatham, N.J., April 11, 1997

Co-op Profits, Not Free Market, Are Behind Rent Deregulation

To the Editor:
Your April 6 news article on rent deregulation in New York City fails to make an important point: A free rental market is not the reason that State Senator Joseph Bruno and the real estate industry want to abolish rent control.

The real issue is that the sponsors of co-op conversions who own apartments that are under rent control want to abolish it in order to raise rents so high that current tenants will be forced out, thereby making the apartments available for sale to a co-op market.

It is not that landlords have not profited. Annual increases in rent-controlled and -stabilized apartments have consistently exceeded the increase in the cost of living, and along with the fuel pass-along, landlords have not starved. These profits would skyrocket were the apart-

ments to become available for conversion.

SARA NICOLL
New York, April 6, 1997

To the Editor:
In your overview of rent regulation in New York City (April 6), you never mentioned the factor of the vacancy rate. Rent regulation resulted from the number of vacant apartments falling below 5 percent of the total. Under such conditions, rent gouging became a possibility.

The present rent regulations would

no longer be necessary if the vacancy rate were to exceed 5 percent, but this is not the case. Until this situation changes, the fundamental reason for the existence of rent regulation remains the low vacancy rate.

VAHE A. TIRYAKIAN
New York, April 6, 1997

Living Wills and Ethics

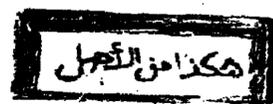
To the Editor:
Re your April 8 news article "Documents Like Living Wills Are Rarely of Aid, Study Says": It is my experience that an increasing number of patients are coming to hospitals with these advance directives. However, the concept is new, and many patients, their surrogates and hospital providers do not understand how such directives are to be implemented.

Moreover, advance directives carry only general statements about the patient's treatment wishes. Providers and surrogates must extrapolate from those statements. That requires training in ethics, which most providers lack.

JAY E. KANTOR
New York, April 10, 1997
The writer is an adjunct associate professor of psychiatry at New York University Medical Center.

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THE JERUSALEM POST

Journal FRANK RICH

That Sinking Feeling

Tomorrow night, exactly 85 years after 2,200 or so passengers and crew did the same, some 100 diners will pay \$79 each to eat a scrupulously recreated "last dinner on the Titanic" at the Balcyon restaurant in New York.

Those shut out of dinner needn't go hungry for Titanic fare. Tonight the Discovery Channel airs a documentary with a new explanation of how the unsinkable ship sank. Or you can "catch" "Titanic," the Broadway season's most costly musical, or join the hundreds of thousands due in Memphis for the largest exhibition yet of Titanic artifacts (it, too, recreates a dining salon).

"She was not just a ship; she was a symbol," writes Walter Lord, the author of the classic 1955 "A Night to Remember," in an introduction to the latest of the 130-odd Titanic books, a collection of those last-dinner recipes complete with tips on proper dress and napkin-folding.

In another recent Titanic book, the fascinating "Down With the Old Canoe," Steven Biel, a cultural historian, tries to track that symbolism. This is not an easy task, given that the Titanic has been reinterpreted by every generation and that it is, Mr. Biel speculates, among the all-time top three subjects for writers.

Millennial Titanic fever.

consumption and greed, the heedless power of nature and God.

But Mr. Biel gives a clue to the cause of the current eruption of Titanic when he describes how the two largest previous outbreaks both occurred in sync with widespread anxiety about new advances in technology.

The current Titanic fever, I'd argue, reflects our arrival at the first technological revolution since then. We know that come the new millennium our jobs, culture and economy will be radically transformed in ways we can't yet fully picture.

This was brought home to me last week when I attended a preview of Broadway's "Titanic." Unlike the Broadway musical spawned by the cold-war Titanic craze — "The Unsinkable Molly Brown" (1980) — this one has special effects only possible in the computer era.



When Baseball Mattered

By Hank Aaron

JACKIE ROBINSON meant everything to me.

Before I was a teen-ager, I was telling my father that I was going to be a ballplayer, and he was telling me, "Ain't no colored ballplayers."

Jackie not only showed me and my generation what we could do, he also showed us how to do it. By watching him, we knew that we would have to swallow an awful lot of pride to make it in the big leagues.

Jackie was a college football hero, a handsome, intelligent, talented guy with a lot going for him. He didn't need that kind of humiliation. And it certainly wasn't in his nature to suffer it silently.

Now, 50 years later, people are saying that Jackie Robinson was an icon, a pioneer, a hero. But that's all they want to do: say it.

That's O.K. Sports stars are going to be role models in any generation. I'm sure Jackie would be pleased to see how well black athletes are doing these days, how mainstream they've become.

In his later years, after blacks were secure in the game, Jackie let go of his forbearance and fought back. In the quest to integrate baseball, it was time for pride to take over from meekness.

When I look back at the statistics of the late 1950's and 60's and see the extent to which black players dominated the National League (the American League was somewhat slower to integrate), I know why that was. We were on a mission.

Hank Aaron, baseball's all-time home run leader, is senior vice president of CNN Airport Network. Lonnie Wheeler assisted with this article.

understood that we were on a collective mission. Jackie Robinson demonstrated to us that, for a black player in our day and age, true success could not be an individual thing.

To players today, however, that's exactly what it is. The potential is

Today's players turn their backs on Jackie Robinson's legacy.

certainly there, perhaps more than at any time since Jackie came along, for today's stars to have a real impact on their communities.

Some of the players have their own charitable foundations, and I applaud them for that. (I believe Dave Winfield, for instance, is very sincere.) But as often as not these good works are really publicity stunts.

The players today think that they're making \$10 million a year because they have talent and people want to give them money. They have no clue what Jackie went through on their behalf, or Larry Doby or Monte Irvin or Don Newcombe, or even, to a lesser extent, the players of my generation.

The saddest thing about all of this is that baseball was once the standard for our country. Jackie Robinson helped blaze the trail to do it for the civil rights movement that followed.

It is tragic to me that baseball has fallen so far behind basketball and even football in terms of racial leadership. People question whether baseball is still the national pastime, and I have to wonder, too. It is certainly not the national standard it once was.

The upside of this is that baseball, and baseball only, has Jackie Robinson. Here's hoping that on the 50th anniversary of Jackie's historic breakthrough, baseball will honor him in a way that really matters. It could start more youth programs, give tickets to kids who can't afford them, become a social presence in the cities it depends on. It could hire more black umpires, more black

doctors, more black concessionaries, more black executives.

You want a name? How about Colin Powell? He's a great American, a man more popular, maybe, than the President. I'm not out there pushing his candidacy, but I think he would be great for baseball.

It would be even more meaningful, perhaps, if some of Jackie's descendants — today's players — committed themselves this year to honoring his name, in act as well as rhetoric.

Jackie's spirit is watching. I know that he would be bitterly disappointed if he saw the way today's black players have abandoned the struggle, but he would be happy for their success nonetheless.

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Hillary's Comet

WASHINGTON In the most tasteless remark of her First Ladyship, Hillary Clinton asserted that the investigation into hush money purportedly paid her former partner Webster Hubbell "reminds me of some people's obsession with U.F.O.'s and the Hale-Bopp comet."

Told of his wife's comparison of her prosecutorial pursuers to the ailment afflicting 39 members of a cult who committed suicide in hopes of boarding a spaceship they believed was trailing the comet, President Clinton roared with laughter and said: "Did she say that? That's pretty good."

I like a good laugh too, but in a case that gained national attention with the insertion of a gun into the mouth of her friend and partner Vincent Foster, the last metaphor I would use to heap ridicule on investigators would be a mass suicide.

More suitably laughable is Mrs. Clinton's claim to victimization not only by crazed conspiracy cultists, but by the predations of Hubbell, her erstwhile partner and convicted fraud. Seeking our sympathy, she told N.P.R.'s Diane Rehm: "It hurt me personally... the money he went to prison for having misused was partly my money..."

Hubbell was the man who provided his father-in-law to be the front for the Clintons' Whitewater dealings; who concealed Clinton records in his basement while he served as Associate Attorney General; who spurned leniency and took an 18-month sentence rather than tell what he knew of their part in the ripoff of taxpayers; who now faces a hush-money prosecution that could put him away for a decade — and she accuses him of victimizing her.

This strikes us cultists as an obvious charade: Just as Hubbell now pretends to have lied to the Clintons about his "billion problem," Hillary now pretends to have been victimized by Hubbell. Teamwork.

Tomorrow morning, the Clintons' Whitewater partner, James McDougal, will be sentenced for his crimes in defrauding taxpayers of millions of dollars. Like another crooked Clinton associate, David Hale, he is cooperating with prosecutors in building a fraud and perjury case against the Clintons.

McDougal last week called upon the President to publicly urge Susan McDougal to tell the truth about the President's testimony, thereby releasing her from jail for contempt of court. Mr. Clinton does not do that

because Susan's silence is golden to him.

One week later, Independent Counsel Ken Starr will be able to title his prosecutorial memoirs "A Thousand Days." That's about how long J.F.K. served, and it is time to come to closure on some of the cases.

In Travelgate, Hillary's abuse of F.B.I. powers to justify political patronage, we know that her story to the General Accounting Office is contradicted by contemporaneous documents. Indict her, or issue a criminal information that the court

Justice delayed is justice derided.

can relay to the public, or drop it.

In Filegate, where her hand-picked bar bouncer called up F.B.I. files that had no business being in the White House and invaded the privacy of 900 Americans, Starr should seek indictment, issue a report, or cut bait.

Both in Whitewater I, the Arkansas fraud, and in Whitewater II, the Washington cover-up, Starr apparently sees a chance to crack the cases by uncovering a conspiracy to buy Hubbell's silence. That heats up a cold trail and deserves patient, relentless pursuit; it may solve the mystery of the reappearance of long-subpoenaed billing records next door to Hillary's hideaway.

But in the I.C.'s other political corruption cases, justice delayed is worse than justice denied; it is justice derided and discredited, defeating the purpose of an independent counsel.

That purpose is to assure the public that no administration is the prosecutor in its own case. Another purpose, implicit in the law, is to make it possible for the public to learn the truth about wrongful actions of public officials even when prosecutors do not believe they can win at trial. The three-judge panel that appointed Starr should call him in on Day 1,000 and remind him of alternatives and obligations.

Hillary Clinton, in her kidding about suicidal cults and her pose as victim of Hubbell the betrayer, has done us a service. She demands decisions soon on cases too long pending. She and we are entitled to them.

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THE ARTS

Celebrating America's Love of Show Business

By ETHAN MORDDEN

IT IS 1933, the very depth of the Great Depression. A spunky kid delivers her high school valedictory speech, fills out a job application — "for no job," as she wryly admits — then slithers into the pleading but also confident, even triumphant, "All I Need (Is One Good Break)," her voice soaring with the excitement of being fresh, gifted and full of hope.

That was 19-year-old Liza Minnelli, getting her own good break in the first musical by composer John Kander and lyricist Fred Ebb, "Flora, the Red Menace," in 1965. The piece was full of youth, fun, dance and comedy, the essential elements of the American musical, and the essence, as well, of Kander and Ebb.

Whether in the more serious musical play, such as "Cabaret" (1966), "Zorba" (1968), "The Rink" (1984) and "Kiss of the Spider Woman" (1993), or in frisky musical comedy, such as "70, Girls, 70" (1971), "Chicago" (1975) and "Woman of the Year" (1981), Mr. Kander and Mr. Ebb celebrate the Big Break, the American love of show biz, making it, performance. Their musicals may be set in Germany, Greece or South America, may defy Fascism and flirt with death. But at the center of their art lies a love of the talent-take-all wonder of entertainment.

The 11th Kander and Ebb collaboration, "Steel Pier," which opens on Broadway at the Richard Rodgers Theater on April 24, reminds us that these men represent the survival of a form of musical that no one else is writing today: filled with that youthful joy that doesn't believe in despair or death.

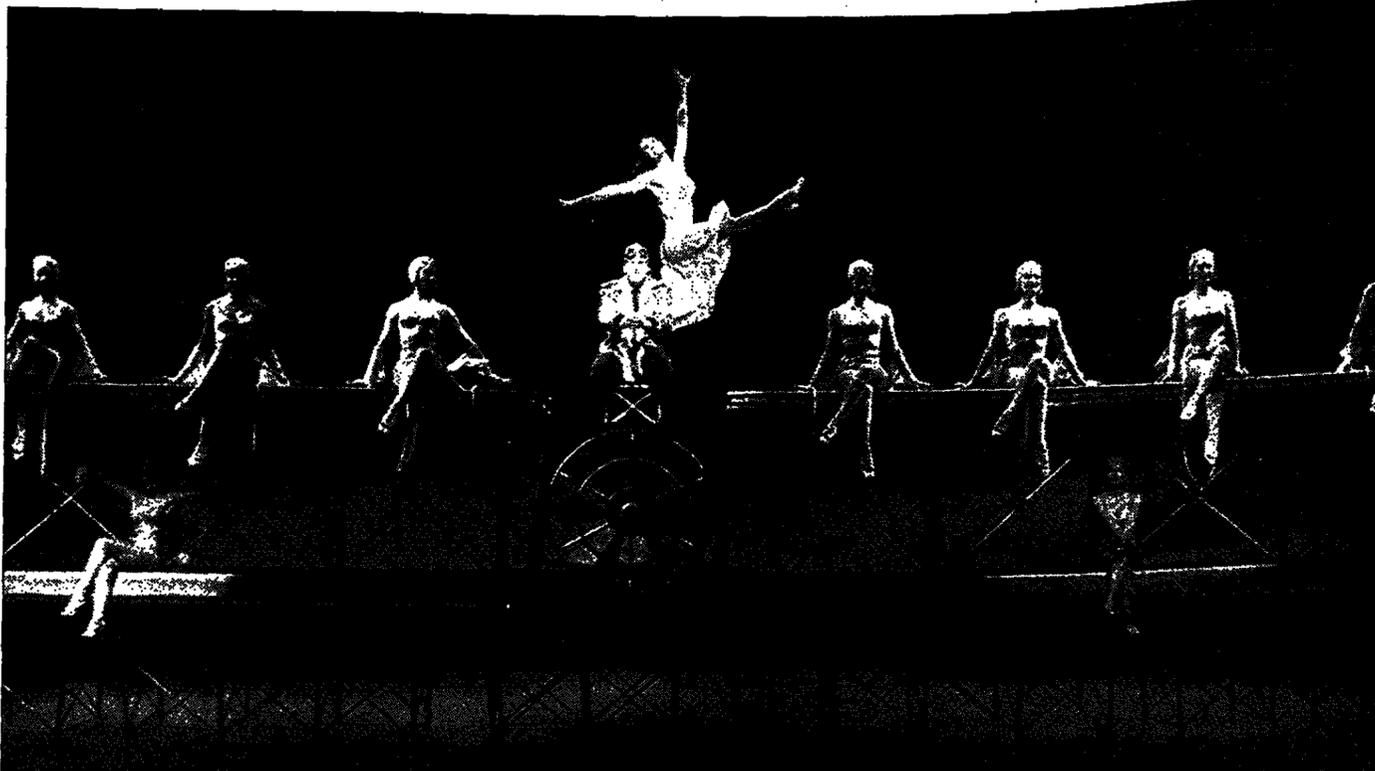
"Steel Pier" in fact, marks a kind of culmination for the team. We are back in the Depression amid youngsters determined to get their break, this time in a dance marathon. This peculiar institution was above all a survival contest, in which couples had to stay on their feet, more or less in motion, till all but one had dropped out, fainted or been eliminated in

John Kander and Fred Ebb are vivid reminders of a time when musicals were king.

athletic events. But marathons were also performing showcases. There were talent competitions, local press coverage of favored contestants, and, for the especially deluded, the dream of being discovered by that great American wizard, the Hollywood producer.

"Steel Pier" is realistic and gritty; marathon dancers sweat. It's romantic; these are couples. It's dark; major musicals are supposed to be, nowadays. It's a musical play, but then what isn't in the 1990's? What ever happened to musical comedy?

Paradoxically, around 1960, when the last full generation of Broadway songwriters appeared — Mr. Kander and Mr. Ebb's generation — all of them had roots in musical comedy. But while they are all living, they and the show of fun, dance and comedy have largely disappeared. Jerry Bock and Sheldon Harnick, who began with "The Body Beautiful" (1958), and Charles Strouse and Lee Adams, who began with "Bye Bye



Daniel McDonald and Karen Ziemba, above center, in a production number from the musical "Steel Pier" — Flying down to Atlantic City.

never lost their desire to entertain. Their first show after "Flora, the Red Menace," "Cabaret," combined the thematic perspective of the musical play ("It'll all go on if we're here or not, / So who cares, so what?") with the zest of musical comedy ("What good is sitting alone in your room? / Come hear the music play") in Weimar Berlin. The advancing shadow of Hitler's Third Reich loomed heavily over the action, yet the evening began with one of the most exciting opening numbers of all time.

Joel Grey, as the M.C., slipped onto the stage to assemble the pieces of his nightclub — the band, the waiters, and of course the cabaret girls. "Each and every one," he promised, "a virgin." They didn't look it, and the M.C. didn't sound as if he believed it. "Cabaret" had the style of musical comedy but an edgy mystery as well, the feeling that something intriguingly unpleasant hid under the fun. It was the first Nazi musical, so ready to use a carefree form for social remark, that, at the climax of "If You Could See Her Through My Eyes," a duo act for the M.C. and a gorilla, Mr. Grey cried, on how love blinds the lover, "She doesn't look Jewish at all!"

Popular resistance to this line, failing to detect its anti-anti-Semitic sarcasm, caused the authors to gentile it down. Still, "Cabaret" was one of the most cynical of musicals, yet a funny and delightful one, with its high-kicking social content.

FUN is basic to a Kander and Ebb show, which is why audiences yip and whoop at the current revival of "Chicago." This is an eruption of musical comedy, loaded with dance in a gamey everyone's-got-too-many-body-parts-and-not-enough-clothes-on

Rivera played the star is to comprehend how Mr. Kander and Mr. Ebb work, for Ms. Rivera is one of the last of the outstanding traditional Broadway talents, a fine actress but mainly someone you want to see singing, dancing and cutting up, because nobody does it better.

A musical set in a prison is bold even for the modernist musical. But centering that musical on a fan's worship of a show-biz diva is typical Kander and Ebb. Life is a cabaret: everyone is Liza Minnelli in her Broadway debut, or the cabaret girls, or the murderers in "Chicago," headlining in vaudeville, or the hopeful marathoners in "Steel Pier."

"The score of "Chicago" is largely made of performer "spots" from the 1920's — the Eddie Cantor number ("Me and My Baby"); the Marilyn Miller number ("A Little Bit of Good," though Mr. Kander and Mr. Ebb's Marilyn Miller is a drag queen); the Bert Williams number ("Mr. Cellophane"); the Helen Morgan number ("Funny Honey"); the Zee Zee Conroy piano-novelty number ("When Velma Takes the Stand").

There is a strutting profile to a John Kander vamp, a show-off's entrance music. It's so endemic to the Kander and Ebb sound that the vamp becomes as familiar as the vocal melody. Think of the musical intros to "Wilkommen," "All That Jazz" or "New York, New York." This is music that has the hots for itself: alive, needy, working it.

It is marathon music; you can dance to it. Choreography has been all but expunged from the modern musical, for the sheer gaiety of dance is too facetious and unreal for shows about rags, assassins, a secret garden, passion. But dance is also a most idealistic art, and "Steel Pier" is looking for signs of hope among its characters. These include Rita, the heroine (played by Karen Ziemba), and her dancing partner, Bill (Daniel McDonald), an aviator; the sinister marathon manager, Mick (Gregory Harrison), a surprisingly potent force in Rita's life; Rita's main rival as queen of the floor, Shelby (Debra Monk); the gauche but appealing Buddy (Joel Blum), and a young couple from the boonocks, Happy (Jim Newman) and Precious (Kristin Chenoweth).

Let's try a half-full, half-empty. Half-full: the dancers are young and optimistic, possibly within reach of stardom — because they need it. Because it's all luck, anyway. Because that's what America is all about — not talent but determination.

Half-empty: they have to get through not hours but days, weeks of near nonstop dancing, and if everyone can become a star, the system will implode. Somebody has to not get there. As this is one of those dark musical plays, the evening's big loser is one of the more sympathetic characters. We're even given the information right up front, but we miss it. Not making it is hard to absorb in a Kander and Ebb show.

THEIR characters usually make it, just as one can say that musical-comedy characters usually make it. Even the doomed window dresser of "Kiss of the Spider Woman" went from drudge to hero in his stylized apocalypse, "Only in the Movies." Ambitious and artistic, Broadway's music theater of today often lacks the hot-time-in-the-old-town entertainment that was an absolute in the traditional musical, but Mr. Kander and Mr. Ebb always find a place for it.

For instance, the second act of "Steel Pier" opens with the exhausted contestants taking their quarter-hour nap. It's a moment of dazed stillness amid the desperation — but Rita's aviator beckons her outside to join him in a Plane Number, with the female chorus dancing on a biplane's wings, an homage to the 1933 Fred Astaire-Ginger Rogers film "Flying Down to Rio." As the refrain assures us, "Things work out, you're sure to find/ When you leave the world behind."

Has there ever been a better description of how classic musical comedy feels? A big number of this sort has the intention of exhilarating with a combination of a cheer-up

tune and a thrilling visual. Mr. Kander and Mr. Ebb, and their collaborators, librettist David Thompson, director Scott Ellis and choreographer Susan Stroman, want to recall a time when the musical was America's favorite thing. (Mr. Thompson, Mr. Ellis and Ms. Stroman are Kander and Ebb stylists: they created the Kander and Ebb revue "..." And the World Goes 'Round" and the 1988 Off Broadway revision of "Flora, the Red Menace," while Mr. Ellis, as an actor, was part of the versatile ensemble of "The Rink.")

"Life is a cabaret" is the key Kander and Ebb line, just as Stephen Sondheim's might be "Children you

destroy together." This tells us that two very different things are happening in the musical today. One is the intricate evolution of the intellectual show and the other is the tenuous survival of musical comedy, especially in the work of Mr. Kander and Mr. Ebb.

Rising above yet comprehending a culture whose first virtue is making it big in show biz, they preserve the qualities that made the musical, in its prime, the progenitor of the legend of the One Good Break. It's opportunity. It's drama. It leaves the world behind in a myth that comes true. You can make it — or at least dance to it. □

REALTOR-SPEAK

By CATHY MILLHAUSER / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

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- 92 FULL BASEMENT!
- 98 Rower, e.g.
- 100 Some earrings
- 101 Dagwood's sweetheart before Blondie
- 102 Sweetheart
- 103 Shot glass?
- 106 The "tacho" in tachometer
- 107 Short story-writer
- 108 Secular

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DOWN

- 1 Mo. when oysters "R" in season
- 2 Cinema admonition
- 3 Four syllable
- 4 Fireplace receptacles
- 5 Clicker
- 6 Cold porter
- 7 Water-light phenomenon
- 8 Protozoan
- 9 Makes out in a lawsuit
- 10 Reformer Jessie
- 11 Genetic carrier, for short
- 12 Bread for tacos
- 13 Unfortunate
- 14 Latin counterpart of "iso"
- 15 Bergman's "Casablanca" surname
- 16 Yields
- 18 Words of agreement
- 21 Shakespearean title start
- 24 Reveals, as a secret
- 25 Web user's woe
- 30 Matriculate
- 31 Sad sort
- 32 Subject for a wine connoisseur
- 33 GAS INCLUDED!
- 35 Glass cookware brand
- 38 Renowned "regretter"
- 39 INDOOR POOL!
- 40 Some fishermen
- 41 Our —
- 44 Drum major's bat
- 48 Banging
- 49 Not orig.
- 50 Pop musician Lolgren
- 51 Dog show worker
- 52 Like the Sahara
- 53 Brit. record label
- 56 Diets
- 59 Huge, old-style
- 63 Gather gradually
- 64 Off-grated cheese
- 65 Hurdle for an atty.-to-be
- 66 — song
- 67 Campus military org.
- 68 "Awake and Sing!" playwright
- 70 Make new A-line lines
- 71 — Tin Tin
- 73 Oater action
- 76 Innocents

- 77 Ragout
- 80 First-generation Japanese
- 81 The Hunchback's "our"
- 83 Oldest known city in Belgium
- 84 Tramps
- 85 Hooks up or lays down, e.g.
- 88 Upright
- 91 Holy Roman Emperor, 840-55
- 93 Hindu ascetics
- 94 Kitchen drawer item
- 95 Waste allowance of old
- 96 Crop up
- 97 Kind of symmetry
- 99 Writers Henry and Philip
- 103 Put-down
- 104 — Bowl
- 105 Use a shuttle
- 106 Skier Chaffee
- 110 Domingo, for one
- 111 Hunky-dory
- 112 Pipe joint
- 113 It's accommodating
- 114 Put an end to something?

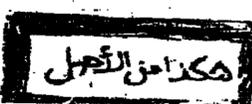
ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

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Composer John Kander, left, and lyricist Fred Ebb.

Birdie" (1960), split up some time ago. Harvey Schmidt and Tom Jones, whose first show, "The Fantasticks" (1960), is still playing Off Broadway, left the commercial theater for experimental work. Jerry Herman has not produced a stage score since "La Cage aux Folles" (1983). Of the major songwriters of that generation, only Stephen Sondheim is, like Mr. Kander and Mr. Ebb, still active. But his questing genius has driven him first into opera and then into cameos, deliberately self-limiting, the musical as drive-by. Mr. Sondheim and the musical as entertainment have temporarily parted company. Mr. Kander and Mr. Ebb have



BUSINESS

in brief

Tadiran, Carrier close \$17.5m. deal

Tadiran Ltd. yesterday said it has closed the sale of 26 percent of Tadiran Consumer Products to Carrier for \$17.5 million. The deal reduces Tadiran's holding to 60%. According to the agreement, Carrier has the option to increase its holding to 51% over the next three years. As a result of the deal, the companies are expected to engage in future ventures to produce air conditioning units and refrigerators.

Jennifer Friedlin

Kibbutzim to fight Ronen Committee report

An emergency meeting of the three kibbutz movements yesterday voted to fight against the recommendations of the Ronen Committee on the reform of the Israel Lands Administration. Kibbutz representatives will meet members of the committee tomorrow to discuss the proposals, which include the right of agricultural estate holders in residential areas to register their land with permission to build on it as individuals rather than as part of larger representative bodies and permission for them to divide their estates and sell individual residential plots.

David Harris

Sharansky in Ukraine

Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky flew to Ukraine over the weekend for a four-day visit. During his stay, Sharansky will attend the first joint Israeli-Ukrainian economic forum meeting, since the bilateral trade agreement came into force last year. Sharansky will also meet Ukraine's ministers for foreign trade, industry and defense. Sharansky will also formally open an "Israel Only" exhibition of some 80 Israeli companies. Exports to Ukraine increased 12.3 percent last year to \$63 million.

David Harris

Koor Industries to seek \$200m. in Yankee Bonds

First-ever Wall Street bond offer for Israel's private sector

By Jerusalem Post Staff

Koor Industries intends raising some \$200 million in Yankee Bonds in July, the company announced yesterday.

Yankee Bonds are US-dollar denominated loans raised in Wall Street by foreign governments or corporations.

Koor's offer, which follows successful bond offers in New York by the government and the Israel Electric Corporation, will be the first entry of a privately held Israeli company into Wall Street's debt market.

Investment bank Goldman Sachs has been selected as the lead underwriter, with Salomon Bros. and Lehman Bros. also included in

the consortium.

The government made its first venture into the Wall Street bonds market in December 1995, and the IEC became the first company to follow suit last December.

In recent weeks, company CEO Benjamin Gaon and his deputy, Yehuda Milo, have met representatives of many of the world's leading banks which had expressed an interest in the move.

The flotation is expected to last a week and is aimed entirely at American institutional investors, not at Israelis.

"This capital-raising venture is part of the company's strategy to expand the various investments in Koor's core businesses and to enable the purchase of international

companies around the world," said Gaon.

There has been considerable international interest in Koor in recent months, with the Morgan Stanley Group purchasing a 1.3 percent share in the company on Wall Street last month.

That deal meant that Koor, Israel's largest and most profitable private company, is now some 26% foreign-owned, with US-based corporation Shamrock holding 20% of shares and leading Egyptian industrialist Ibrahim Kamel having recently bought 5% (according to the *Financial Times*), through his Cairo-based Kato group.

With some 30 subsidiaries and over 20,000 employees in Israel

and around the world, Koor's 1997 net income increased 8.4% to NIS 587.9m.

Koor's core domestic businesses are now restricted to telecom and electronics, agrochemicals, and building and infrastructure materials. Now the company is looking to expand its foreign interests. By the end of 1997, some 40% of Koor's activities will be overseas, and that figure will rise to 50% by the end of the century, according to Gaon.

Yankee bonds are dollar-denominated and issued in the US by foreign banks and corporations. Conditions in the US bonds market are generally perceived to be more favorable than either those for the Eurobond or in domestic markets.

El Al forecasts \$80m. loss in '96

By DAVID HARRIS

El Al will, in the coming weeks, announce an \$80 million loss for 1996, company sources told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

Such a sizeable loss could harm the government's intention to begin the company's privatization process this year.

The poor performance is due to external factors and not internal company inefficiencies, the sources said. The dollar exchange rate, a 30 percent increase in fuel costs and the decline in tourism in a year of heightened terrorist activity are the main reasons for the loss, according to El Al.

This is still a better end-of-year picture than that forecast by general manager Yoel Feldschuh, who in October predicted a \$100m. loss for 1996.

In order to offset the anticipated loss, El Al cut 20% of its planned winter schedule and increased layoffs of seasonal employees.

"We are optimistic of an improved situation this year," said company spokesman Nachman Klieman. "There are signs of an increase in tourism, and we already have large numbers of bookings from Israelis traveling abroad."

Israelis comprise more than 50% of El Al's overall market, a change from previous years, when foreigners made up the bulk of the airline's customers. In general terms, the company tends to report losses in the first quarter, break even in the second, make the majority of its profits in the summer, with the fourth quarter being borderline but usually ending with minor losses.

With the government demanding that El Al make every effort to break even, the \$80m. loss will be a blow to the Prime Minister's Office and Transport Ministry, which are intent on privatizing the company as soon as possible.

Talks among El Al, the Transport Ministry and Government Companies Authority are said to be near completion. Many close to the talks, particularly from the company itself, believe an imminent flotation is a pipe-dream. Among the problems envisaged are the insistence of Transport Minister Yitzhak Levy that the company not be allowed to fly on Shabbat, no matter who owns the airline, and the protection of workers' rights amid fears of job losses.

The latter has been extensively discussed in a series of meetings between workers' representatives and company executives. At the same time workers have been seeking independent advice on the possibility of purchasing shares in El Al in any future flotation.

A government committee on selling El Al - comprising Companies Authority director general Tzipi Livni, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's economic adviser Moshe Leon and Transport Ministry director general Nahum Langental, which should have made its recommendations by mid-January - has still not reached agreement as to the nature of the privatization. There are varying opinions between a public flotation and a private sale.



Edelstein visits Merkavim plant

Merkavim officials yesterday show Absorption Minister Yuli Edelstein the company's plant in Petah Tikva, which assembles about 30 buses a month and employs more than 150 immigrants.

(Yitzhak Elberg/Scoop 89)

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ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK

Eitan: Effort to oust Israel from Beijing desert conference will fail

By DAVID HARRIS

An international conference on desertification, scheduled for next month in Beijing, will take place with Israel in attendance, despite attempts by Arab and Moslem nations to bar it, Agriculture Minister Rafael Eitan said yesterday through his spokesman.

"We received information from the Foreign Ministry that they were trying to prevent us from taking part

in this event," said the spokesman, Naphali Yaniv. "But to their credit, both China and India said the conference will take place with Israel there, or not take place at all."

The push to bar Israel was led by Iran, Iraq and Syria, with other Moslem, Arab and non-aligned Asian countries joining the call.

"Iran argued that Israel should not participate because it is not part of the Asian bloc in the United Nations," said Foreign Ministry

deputy spokesman Yigal Palmor. "But others, led by the host China, countered that Asia is Asia and Israel has every right to attend."

Israel's participation in the conference is of particular significance because of its technical expertise in the field and subsequent ability to offer assistance to Asian nations.

The Beijing conference is being held as a follow-up to the 1992 world ecological summit in Brazil, which called for better management of land and keeping check on its uses, ahead of the 21st century.

Since then Israel has produced a comprehensive program of aid and assistance on the subject for Asian, African and Latin American countries. Richer nations have indicated they are prepared to pay Israel to help developing countries. Yaniv says this is because they are sure the money will be used for its intended purpose and not go to waste.

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev announced earlier this month it is to establish an anti-desertification facility at Sede Boker as a central link in the network of international research institutes implementing a UN treaty against desertification.

The delegation to China will be headed by Eitan, with the technical expertise team led by Prof. Uriel Safran of the Sede Boker institute.

israel electric חברת החשמל

TENDERS

The Israel Electric Corporation wishes to purchase the following goods and services:

Tender No.	Subject Description - 24kv, 1800kvar & 1200kvar Capacitor Banks - Specification TF-64	Payment For Documents including Vat (non-Returnable)
593739	Preconditions For Suppliers 1. The Quality Assurance Programs of the Manufacturers of Pole Mounted Capacitor Banks equipment shall meet ISO 9001 requirements. The supplier shall submit with his proposal the Manufacturers Quality Assurance Certificate according to ISO 9001 issued by a neutral recognized certification authority. 2. The Supplier Manufacturers shall have at least seven years' experience in manufacturing the equipment for the proposed 24KV Pole Mounted Capacitor Banks. The supplier shall submit with his proposal customer lists of similar equipment supplied during the last seven years by Supplier Manufacturers, including quantities, type, customer name, country name and year of manufacture. Additional Conditions for Suppliers 1. The supplier shall submit his bid for all the items. 2. The I.E.C. reserves the right to disqualify a Supplier which does not submit bids for all the items. 3. The I.E.C. reserves the right to purchase all items from one Supplier. For complete I.E.C. requirements, see I.E.C. Specifications TF-64 which will be attached to the Bid Documents.	NIS 936

The last date for submission of bids is June 5, 1997 at 11:00 a.m.

Additional Preconditions for Participation
1. Participation in a tender is also subject to complying with the preliminary conditions detailed in the Tender Regulations 1993, Para. 9 (a) 1, 2, 3 (i.e., registration as required by law, compliance with mandatory specifications, and the holding of the permits required by public bodies).
2. If a bidder does not attach any particular document, permit or license or any other required material, as required by the preliminary conditions, the Electric Corporation may allow the bidder to submit the missing material within a period of time to be set by the Corporation.

Tender application forms can be obtained from the Import Department, 11 Sherdot Pal Yam, Haifa from 9:00 a.m. to 12 noon on presentation of a receipt for payment into the Israel Electric Corporation Account in any Postal Bank branch. (The payment will not be returned). Payment slips and additional information can be obtained at the above address or by telephoning 04-861-5348/197. Tender documents can be viewed at the offices of the Import Department at the above address.

Bids must be submitted in closed envelopes to room 511, floor 5, in the Pal Yam Building in Haifa at the above address not later than the last date or submission as shown above.

No undertaking is given to accept the lowest or any bid.
NOTE: In appropriate cases, the Electric Corporation will give preference to suppliers, in accordance with the Tender Regulations (Preference for Locally Produced Goods, and Obligation to Extend Commercial Cooperation). The Electric Corporation retains the right to negotiate, where this is legally permissible.

Our offices will be closed on the following dates:
Pesach: April 20 - 28 1997
Independence Day: May 12, 1997
Remembrance Day for the Fallen of Israel's Wars: May 11, 1997

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ISRAELI MONEY MARKETS

Patash (foreign currency deposit rates) (11.9.96)

Currency (deposit term)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	4.750	5.000	5.375
Pound sterling (£100,000)	3.875	4.000	4.250
German mark (DM 200,000)	1.625	1.625	1.625
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	0.625	0.750	1.000
Yen (¥ 10 million yen)	-	-	-

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (11.4.97)

CHECKS AND TRANSFERS	BANKNOTES		Rep.
	Buy	Sell	
Currency basket	3.6301	3.6978	-
U.S. dollar	3.9888	3.90	3.6887
German mark	1.9573	1.92	3.5940
Pound sterling	5.4866	5.37	1.9735
French franc	0.5316	0.52	5.5776
Japanese yen (100)	2.5712	0.57	0.80
Dutch florin	1.7408	2.72	2.78
Swiss franc	2.2504	1.71	1.80
Swedish krona	0.4882	0.48	2.36
Norwegian krona	0.4882	0.47	0.46
Danish krona	0.5139	0.52	0.50
Finnish mark	0.6659	0.50	0.53
Canadian dollar	2.4185	2.45	0.68
Australian dollar	2.8477	2.85	2.49
S. African rand	0.7683	0.76	2.75
Belgian franc (10)	0.9447	0.94	0.96
Austrian schilling (10)	2.7813	2.73	2.87
Italian lira (1000)	4.8900	5.01	1.94
Jordanian dinar	0.5930	0.59	4.33
Exploim pound	3.8244	3.86	5.01
Irish punt	5.2114	5.25	1.04
Spanish peseta (100)	2.3198	2.35	2.39

*These rates vary according to bank. **Bank of Israel

SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

SPORTS

in brief

Pinto, Chepchumba win London marathon

LONDON (Reuters) - Portugal's Antonio Pinto ran the year's best time on yesterday to snatch victory in the London marathon in one of the closest finishes in the history of the event.

Pinto repeated his 1992 victory in London by winning the men's race in two hours seven minutes 55 seconds, the fastest time of the year in a marathon.

Italy's Stefano Baldini was second in 2:07.57 with the two-second gap being the smallest in the race's 17-year history, apart from the inaugural race when the two front runners deliberately staged a dead heat.

South Africa's Josiah Thugwane was third in 2:08:06.

The women's race was also decided on a sprint finish with Kenya's Joyce Chepchumba just beating Briton Liz McColgan, reversing their 1996 placings.

Chepchumba won in 2:26:51 seconds with McColgan just one second further back. Romania's Lidia Simon finished third in 2:27:11.

More than 29,000 runners started the marathon, the biggest ever field in the race.

Bangladesh lift ICC trophy off last ball

KUALA LUMPUR (Reuters) - Bangladesh survived a nail-biting finish to beat Kenya by two wickets and win the International Cricket Council (ICC) trophy World Cup qualifying tournament yesterday.

Set a revised target of 166 in 25 overs owing to stoppages caused by rain, Bangladesh blasted 11 runs, including a six by Khaled Masud, in the last over to win off the last ball.

Rain caused the final to be played over two days and Kenya had looked well placed after scoring 241 for seven in their 50 overs on Saturday with Steve Tikolo making 147.

De la Hoya wins WBC welterweight title

LAS VEGAS (Reuters) - Oscar de la Hoya scored a unanimous decision victory over Pernell Whitaker on Saturday to capture the World Boxing Council welterweight title.

Two judges scored the fight 116-110 for de la Hoya and the third judge had it 115-111 for the new champion.

Corretja beats Clavet to win Estoril Open

LISBON (Reuters) - Spain's Alex Corretja beat compatriot Francisco Clavet 6-3, 7-5 on yesterday to win the Estoril Open and collect his first ATP title in three years.

After winning the first set, the 23-year-old Catalan appeared to have let Clavet back into the match and had to come back from 5-2 down in the second set to clinch his first tournament since winning in Buenos Aires in 1994. Corretja, who picked up a winning cheque for \$82,000.

Sweden's Mikael Tillstrom won his first ATP Tour singles title with a 6-4, 4-6, 7-5 victory in an eventful Indian Open final in Madras against Alex Radulescu of Germany.

Sixth seed Tillstrom, 25, received icepack treatment on court during the third set to overcome exhaustion but finally wore down the fifth-seeded Radulescu's resistance in a two-and-a-half-hour duel.

Walker hits league-leading homer as Rockies win again

DENVER (Reuters) - Larry Walker kept up his torrid early-season home run pace to help the surging Colorado Rockies outslug the Montreal Expos 12-8 on Saturday for their seventh consecutive victory.

Walker hit his league-leading seventh homer and Vinny Castilla matched Walker's two-run shot with his fifth in a four-run second inning that followed a four-run first.

Kirt Manwaring had four of Colorado's 13 hits and drove in two runs and Andres Galarraga delivered a two-run single for the Rockies, who have gone undefeated since dropping the first two games of the season on the road.

Jamey Wright (2-0) picked up the victory despite allowing six runs and 11 hits over seven innings.

Cincinnati 2, Florida 1
In Cincinnati, Pokey Reese.

Saturday's NL results: Seattle 5, Boston 1 (10); Minnesota 11, Kansas City 6; Saturday's NL results: Cincinnati 2, Florida 1 (10); Houston 7, St. Louis 5; Atlanta 2, Chicago 1; Colorado 12, Montreal 8.

Mac TA takes 1-0 lead in semifinal series vs. Eilat

Mac Kiryat Motzkin gains promotion to National League

By RICHARD ZAACKS

Maccabi Tel Aviv cruised to a 112-87 victory over Hapoel Eilat in the opening game of the best-of-five semifinal series at Yad Eliahu last night.

Oded Katash scored 34 points to lead the defending champions to their 19th consecutive victory in the playoffs since losing the title in the 1993 season.

For Maccabi, the cakewalk - they never relinquished a double-digit margin the entire second half - was a welcome change from the bitter loss in the State Cup final to Hapoel Jerusalem on Thursday.

Eilat opened the game looking as if it would give Maccabi a fight, taking an 18-13

advantage with 12:30 remaining in the half, thanks mainly to a weak effort from Nadav Henefeld, Buck Johnson and Doron Sheffer.

But Katash caught fire to save the blue-and-yellow, scoring 18 of his 23 first-half points in an eight-minute stretch which witnessed Maccabi go on a 33-15 run. Randy White also helped pick up the slack with 15 first-half points and five rebounds.

Maccabi never looked back after that point, taking a 59-47 advantage into the locker room and opening the second half with three consecutive baskets to put the game out of reach.

Eilat's downfall coincided with Maccabi's switch to a zone defense midway through the first half, and the southerners' shooting went sour.

For Maccabi, Katash had 34 points, White 24, Henefeld 14, Johnson 11 points and 12 rebounds and Brad Leaf 11.

Hapoel Eilat was led by James Forrest with 22 points and nine rebounds, Amir Katz with 19, Corey Gaines 17 and Meir Tapiro 15.

The clubs now travel to Eilat for Game 2 on Wednesday, while the other semifinal series, between Maccabi Ra'anana and Hapoel Jerusalem, tips off tonight in Ra'anana.

Meanwhile, in National League B play, Maccabi Kiryat Motzkin defeated Maccabi Rehovot 114-77 last night to gain promotion, along with Maccabi Netanya, to the National League next season.

Iverson scores 50 but Sixers lose to Cleveland

CLEVELAND (Reuters) - Allen Iverson scored 50 points, broke a record set by Wilt Chamberlain and declared himself Rookie of the Year, but his Philadelphia 76ers still lost 125-118 to the Cleveland Cavaliers on Saturday.

The usually low-scoring Cavaliers bettered 30 points in all but the third quarter to move into a tie with Washington for the final playoff berth in the Eastern Conference.

Iverson scored at least 40 points for the fourth consecutive game, breaking the mark set by the legendary Chamberlain in the 1959-60 season, and joined Michael Jordan as the only players to score 50 points in a game this season.

Iverson shot 17-of-32 from the field, including 5-of-9 from three-point range and added 11 free throws.

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Atlantic Division				
	W	L	Pct	GB
y-Miami	59	19	.756	
x-New York	54	24	.692	5
x-Orlando	44	34	.564	15
Washington	40	38	.513	19
New Jersey	24	53	.312	34 1/2
Philadelphia	21	57	.269	38
Boston	14	65	.177	45 1/2

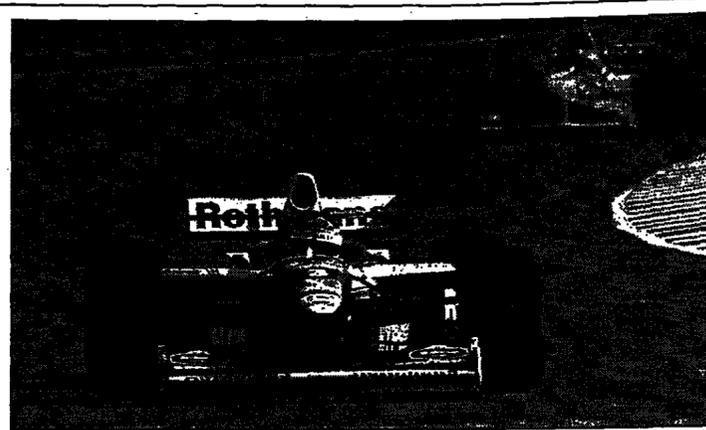
Central Division				
	W	L	Pct	GB
x-Chicago	66	10	.872	
x-Atlanta	54	24	.692	14
x-Charlotte	52	26	.667	16
x-Detroit	51	28	.646	16 1/2
Cleveland	40	38	.513	28
x-Phoenix	38	40	.487	30
Milwaukee	30	47	.390	37 1/2
Toronto	28	50	.360	40

WESTERN CONFERENCE				
Midwest Division				
	W	L	Pct	GB
x-Utah	50	17	.747	
x-Houston	53	25	.679	7 1/2
x-Minnesota	38	40	.487	22 1/2
Dallas	23	55	.295	37 1/2
Denver	20	58	.256	40 1/2
x-San Antonio	20	58	.256	40 1/2
Vancouver	13	67	.163	48 1/2

Pacific Division				
	W	L	Pct	GB
x-Seattle	54	24	.692	
x-LA Lakers	53	25	.679	1
x-Portland	48	33	.593	8 1/2
x-Sacramento	38	40	.487	18
LA Clippers	35	43	.449	19
Sacramento	32	46	.410	22
Golden State	29	49	.372	25

z-clinched conference title				
y-clinched division title				
x-clinched playoff berth				

Saturday's NBA results: New York 106, Miami 99; Seattle 96, San Antonio 91; Indiana 100, Toronto 89; Charlotte 99, Washington 97; Cleveland 125, Philadelphia 118; Orlando 121, Boston 98; Atlanta 98, Minnesota 66; Vancouver 96, Dallas 85; LA Clippers 116, Denver 94.



Villeneuve wins in Argentina

Canadian Jacques Villeneuve in a Williams approaches the finish line ahead of Ferrari driver Eddie Irvine to win the Argentine Grand Prix in Buenos Aires yesterday. Villeneuve opened up a 10-point lead in the world drivers' championship. German Ralf Schumacher, younger brother of double world champion Michael Schumacher, it was 21-year-old Schumacher's first points finish in Formula One and Irvine's best result in his 51-race career at the top level. Villeneuve's victory was his sixth and put him level in the record books with his late father Gilles. The Canadian boosted his points tally to 20 after three races with Briton David Coulthard and Austrian Gerhard Berger sharing second place on 10.

Chesterfield could still re-write history

LONDON (Reuters) - Chesterfield's "impossible dream" of re-writing English soccer history was still alive yesterday after they drew 3-3 with Middlesbrough in one of the most remarkable F.A. Cup semifinal matches ever played.

A header from midfielder Jamie Hewitt in the last minute of extra-time at Old Trafford kept Chesterfield in the Cup just as Middlesbrough had looked set to make history of their own by reaching the final of soccer's oldest knockout competition for the first time in their 121-year history.

Chesterfield, who have never won anything in their 131-year history and who last played in one of the top two English divisions 45 years ago, will now face the premier league side again in a replay at Hillsborough on April 22 to decide who will play Chelsea in the final at Wembley on May 17. If necessary the semifinal will be decided on penalties.

Chelsea secured their place with a 3-0 win over London rivals Wimbledon at Highbury earlier in the day.

Chesterfield started this season's F.A. Cup campaign last November rated as 500-1 outsiders to win the Cup, but are still on course to become the lowest-ranked team for 95 years to reach the final.

No team from outside the top two divisions has reached the Cup Final since Southampton in 1902 when they were outside the league. Southampton lost the final, after a replay, to Sheffield United.

Chesterfield, whose victims this season have included premier league Nottingham Forest and newly-crowned first division champions Bolton, looked to be on the way to one of the great giant-killing acts when they led 2-0 with goals from Andy Morris and captain Sean Dyche who scored from a penalty.

But Middlesbrough, who were reduced to 10 men in the first half after Vladimir Kinder was sent off, fought back to level with goals from Fabrizio Ravanelli and a penalty from Craig Hignett. Gianluca Festa fired them ahead in extra-time before Hewitt's astonishing leveler 60 seconds from the end of the match.

Chelsea had no such problems in their semifinal, cruising past Wimbledon with Mark Hughes scoring twice and Gianfranco Zola once.

Hughes will equal a modern-day record - currently shared by 10 players of five cup final appearances as long as injury does not rule him out of the final, while Chelsea's Dutch manager Ruud Gullit will become the first overseas coach to lead his side out in a Cup Final in the tournament's 126-year history.

Hughes also has a chance of equalling Ian Rush's record of five Cup Final goals. He has scored three so far - two for Manchester United against Crystal Palace in 1990 and one for United, against Chelsea in 1994.

Woods in historic Masters march

AUGUSTA (Reuters) - Tiger Woods slashed his first-hole tee shot dead center down the fairway as he set off on what was billed as a possible historic final round at the Masters late last night.

The 21-year-old Woods led by a record nine strokes after Saturday's third round, poised to become the youngest champion in Masters history and the first non-white player to ever win a major championship.

It was a breezy day at Augusta National, a condition that sometimes produces bizarre scoring at the Masters.

Ben Crenshaw, who won his second Masters title in 1995, posted a six-over-par 11 on the par-5 15th hole among the early starters yesterday.

A few of the players far behind Woods on the leaderboard improved on their scores in the early going. Two-time champion Tom Watson birdied the first and second holes to move to six under par, nine shots behind the runaway leader.

Tom Kite, the 1992 U.S. Open champion, birdied the par-5 second hole to move to five under par.

Woods, who needed a round of 69 to break the Masters scoring record held jointly by Jack Nicklaus and Raymond Floyd, began the day at 15-under-par 201 after shooting 65 on Saturday to pad his lead from three strokes to nine.

He was playing the final round with Costantino Rocca of Italy. Rocca, who lost in a playoff for the 1995 British Open, was paired with Woods after finishing the third round at six-under 210 after shooting 69.

Liverpool recover from PSG nightmare

LONDON (Reuters) - Liverpool bounced back from their disastrous European encounter with Paris St Germain to beat Sunderland 2-1 and keep up the pressure on English league leaders Manchester United.

Beaten 3-0 in their European Cup Winners Cup semifinal first leg this week, Liverpool went 2-0 ahead with goals from Robbie Fowler and Steve McManaman and a Paul Stewart header was insufficient to save relegation-threatened Sunderland.

They are still in the drop-zone, a point ahead of Middlesbrough who have played two games more, while Liverpool lie three points behind United in third place.

Newcastle and Sheffield Wednesday stayed in fifth and sixth places respectively after a 1-1 draw at Hillsborough.

Robbie Elliot bundled Newcastle into the lead in the 35th minute but Mark Pembroke ensured a point for Wednesday in the second-half with a fierce left-foot volley.

Ottawa blanks Buffalo to clinch first playoff berth

OTTAWA (Reuters) - The Ottawa Senators officially ended their four-year reign as doormat of the National Hockey League by clinching their first playoff berth on Saturday.

After finishing with the worst record in the NHL its first four years in the league, Ottawa blanked the Buffalo Sabres 1-0 to secure seventh place in the Eastern Conference.

"No doubt, we're looking to go further," Senators coach Jacques Martin said. "If you look at our record in the conference in the second half, we're fourth. It shows we're a team that can make things happen. I think we're ready."

In Montreal, the Canadiens clinched a playoff spot in their season finale and ended Philadelphia's shot at the top seed in the East by rallying for a 3-3 tie with the Flyers.

Vincent Damphousse scored the tying goal off a rebound with 13:56 to go in the third period as Montreal nailed down the eighth and final playoff berth in the East and a final

WESTERN CONFERENCE										
Central Division										
	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA				
GA	48	25	8	104	250	193				
x-Detroit	38	25	18	94	252	194				
x-Phoenix	38	37	7	83	240	243				
x-St. Louis	35	35	11	81	233	238				
x-Chicago	33	35	13	79	218	238				
Toronto	30	44	8	68	230	273				

Saturday's NHL results: Ottawa 1, Buffalo 0; Philadelphia 3, Montreal 3; Washington 5, NY Islanders 2; Toronto 4, Calgary 1; Los Angeles 4, San Jose 1; Vancouver 5, Edmonton 4.

Sport Editors: Joseph Hoffman and Ori Luria

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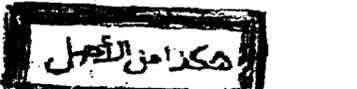
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Netanyahu, Peres spur anxiety over unity coalition

By SARAH HONIG

Reports that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Labor Party leader Shimon Peres met clandestinely some 10 days ago are fanning the flames of anxiety about national unity in both Labor and the Likud.

The reports, from a Labor source, spoke of Peres coming to Netanyahu's home late at night prior to the premier's departure for Europe to meet with EEC leaders and Peres's vacation in South America. Peres yesterday confirmed from Brazil that the national unity issue loomed large at the meeting, say Labor sources.

Peres is due back from Brazil on Wednesday to join the growing turmoil in Labor. He had planned to summon on Thursday evening some 150 central committee members to the ZOA House in Tel Aviv for a unity pep talk. But after party secretary-general Nissim Zvili heard that counter meetings are also planned, he talked Peres into calling his gathering off. The other meetings, however, are still on.

Also on Peres's schedule upon his return is a call on Shas mentor Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, ostensibly to wish him a happy Pessah. However, prevailing opinion in the political arena is that this gesture is part of Peres's ongoing attempts to win support for national unity.

In Labor, opinions are sharply divided. Those loyal to leading leadership candidate Ehud Barak charge that Peres's relentless efforts on behalf of national unity stem solely from his desire to bring the party into the government prior to the June 3 primary, at which his successor as party chairman is to be chosen. Peres would enter a unity government as the senior Labor representative and cement his claim to party primacy, regardless of who is elected in his stead.

Leadership candidate MK Yossi Beilin charges that Barak will enter a unity government if he is offered a top portfolio. Beilin challenged Barak to issue a joint statement that neither of them will enter a Netanyahu-led coalition no matter what.

Meanwhile, candidate Ephraim Sneh has come out in favor of a unity coalition under certain circumstances. The fourth candidate, Shlomo Ben-Ami, opposes a unity government.

Worried Peres loyalist MK Dalia Itzik phoned him in Sao Paulo, Brazil, yesterday and asked about reports he may be considering going into the government alone, if he cannot win sufficient support for the party to do so. The report had already been denied by the Prime Minister's Office on Saturday night. Peres told Itzik he has no such plans and that he is "working as the leader of the party and not as a private individual."

Labor MK Haggai Merom, a Barak supporter, warned last night that "even if [Peres] wins a majority in the committee, which is unlikely, he will not take the entire faction with him. I plan to stay in

the opposition and I know of at least four MKs who will certainly do likewise. It is pitiful to see Peres's career end thus, with an abject crawl at any cost towards a cabinet seat next to Rafal [Rafael Eitan]. [Ariel] Sharon and the NRP contingent. If they stay in, then Labor certainly has nothing to seek in this government."

Netanyahu stressed yesterday in messages to his coalition partners that he aims to keep all of them, even if he expands the coalition to include Labor.

As things stand now, the National Religious Party has gone on record as opposing a broader coalition, while the Third Way yesterday came out in favor - on condition the Golan, the Jordan Valley, and greater Jerusalem stay under Israel's control.

Should a national unity government be formed, it is clear the Likud would pay dearly in cabinet portfolios, and that one likely victim would be Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai. Likud sources say he will begin circulating a petition in the Likud central committee against removing the portfolio from him.

Likud insiders are keeping a close eye on whether Netanyahu this week appoints a new science minister to replace MK Ze'ev Begin, who resigned three months ago. A portfolio may be kept unassigned for no longer than three months. If Netanyahu assigns it to himself, this might signal party members he is accumulating political property to allocate in a coalition expansion; if he assigns it to someone else, this may ring the death knell for the national unity option.

Netanyahu's assurance that he would keep his present coalition partners in the government reassured no one yesterday. Transport Minister Yitzhak Levy (NRP) argued that "what matters are the government guidelines. If they are amended to make a Labor entry into the coalition possible, then we would be unable to agree to this. I am afraid that it might come down to either us or them because I can't picture Labor accepting the present guidelines."

Communications Minister Limor Livnat, mentioned as one who may lose a portfolio in a national unity government, said, "I personally would strenuously object to a deviation from the guidelines, because the last elections were held only 10 months ago and the voters preferred our platform."

Meretz Party leader Yossi Sarid sounded a similar note. "To join in a government with Oslo's progenitor on the basis of agreed guidelines appears to me like a pipe dream," Sarid told his faction members yesterday. "A national unity government is a non-starter. When all these honorable gentlemen start squabbling over portfolios, they'll soon forget the national unity ideal. I can't see Peres joining the coalition as science minister. It is just sad the Labor Party is humiliating itself in this manner."

High Court annuls Dotan's release

The High Court of Justice yesterday annulled the parole board's decision to release embezzler Rami Dotan after only half his 13-year sentence was served. The justices explained their ruling as due to the Judge Advocate-General not having had an equal opportunity to present its case as did the defense.

However, the court did not rule on the substance of Dotan's release; rather on the technical failure of both sides to be heard equally.

Supreme Court President Aharon Barak, Deputy President Shlomo Levin, and Justice Dalia Dorner ordered the parole board to reconsider Dotan's parole and give the Judge Advocate-General the same opportunity to present arguments as the defense.

Dotan, a former chief Israel Air Force pro-

urement officer, was convicted in March 1991 of embezzling some \$12 million from US military contracts. He was sentenced to 13 years' imprisonment and demoted from brigadier-general to private. Last month the parole board decided to release him, citing his chronically poor state of health as the reason.

The ruling aroused a storm of protest in the IDF and among national figures, including President Ezer Weizman, who took the unprecedented step of asking Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein to appeal the decision.

Yesterday Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai expressed satisfaction with the court's ruling. Mordechai's office said the ruling was the only appropriate one in view of the severity of Dotan's crimes and the

damage he caused the IDF and state security. The chairman of the Knesset State Control Committee, Ron Cohen (Meretz), said the decision makes it obligatory not to rely on the future intervention of the High Court of Justice in such matters, but to change the law of military jurisdiction. Such a change, mandated by the committee, would make it impossible for a parole board to irresponsibly release a criminal without proper review by the chief of general staff.

Dotan's attorney, Daniel Friedman, declined to comment on the court's decision.

But Meretz Party leader MK Yossi Sarid, who petitioned the court against Dotan's early release, praised the decision. "I'm sure the members of the board themselves understand that they erred in their judgment and won't repeat their mistake." (Tm)



Mourners pause in silence at the funeral of Prof. Nehama Leibowitz yesterday.

(Sara Hertz)

'Teacher of the people of Israel' mourned

By URIEL HELMAN

Nehama Leibowitz buried in J'lem

Prof. Nehama Leibowitz, renowned Torah scholar, winner of the Israel Prize, and beloved teacher to thousands of students worldwide, was buried yesterday at the Har Tamir Cemetery near Har Hamenuhot in a ceremony attended by over 1,000 people.

Although no eulogies were delivered, both because they traditionally are forbidden during the month of Nisan and because Leibowitz instructed that none be permitted at her funeral, hundreds of mourners exchanged fond memories of the woman whom

one student termed "the teacher of teachers."

When Yossi Yovel, Leibowitz's nephew and son of the late philosopher Yeshayahu Leibowitz, announced, "All those who feel as a son to Nehama, as I do, may join in the Kaddish prayer with me," nearly all the men who had managed to squeeze their way into the packed funeral parlor joined in, some with tears rolling down their cheeks.

As mourners tried to make their way through the crowd to pay their last respects, people spoke of Leibowitz's energy and intellectual insight. "She was the teacher of the people of Israel," said Shmuel Klitsner, a former student, who maintained that her life symbol-

ized the Land and the Torah of Israel. He said Leibowitz's warm personality was evident in her care for her students, in whom she expressed intense interest, and in her special love for children.

Nevertheless, as an educator, she was very demanding. Another former student remembered that in the classroom, Leibowitz could tell who understood what she was saying and who did not, even if they did not say anything.

"She was especially fond of English-speakers and olim; for some reason," said Klitsner, who added that despite Leibowitz's proficiency in English, she refused to speak the language and never visited the US.

Born in Latvia, Leibowitz was

educated in the universities of Berlin and Marburg before she came to Palestine in 1925. She taught Bible, Jewish history, and methods of educational instruction at the Hebrew University and in a variety of other settings, occasionally lecturing in schools, synagogues, and to community groups. She was awarded the Israel Prize for services in the field of adult education in 1956 and the Samuel Rothberg prize in Jewish Education in 1986.

Up until a few weeks ago, devoted students still gathered in the living room of her modest two-room apartment for a weekly Bible class.

On Tuesday night, a night of learning in Leibowitz's memory will take place at Ohel Nehama Synagogue on Rehov Chopin in Jerusalem.

WEATHER Galilee 15-20

Haifa 20-25 Tiberias 18-22
Afula 16-25
Samarra 18-22
Tel Aviv 20-27
Jerusalem 17-20
BeerSheva 22-28
Dead Sea 20-25
Eilat 19-27

Forecast: Partly cloudy. Drop in temperatures. Rise in humidity.

AROUND THE WORLD

	LOW	HIGH	WIND	COND.	
Amsterdam	02	36	11	52	clear
Berlin	00	32	08	18	cloudy
Buenos Aires	18	61	26	79	partly cloudy
Chicago	-11	50	21	78	cloudy
Copenhagen	-03	27	06	43	rain
Frankfurt	-01	36	15	59	clear
Geneva	22	72	23	73	rain
Haifa	-08	18	01	34	snow
Hong Kong	27	75	24	72	clear
Jakarta	07	43	22	72	clear
Jerusalem	17	27	09	18	clear
London	08	34	16	61	clear
Los Angeles	14	57	23	73	clear
Madrid	00	32	07	45	cloudy
Moscow	-21	27	11	52	cloudy
New York	01	34	15	61	partly cloudy
Paris	01	34	15	61	partly cloudy
Rome	-06	23	02	36	cloudy
Stockholm	15	59	24	75	clear
Sydney	01	22	12	52	clear
Toronto	00	32	08	37	rain
Vienna	00	32	08	43	cloudy
Zurich	-02	28	10	50	partly cloudy

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Winning cards
In yesterday's Chance draw, the lucky cards were the 7 of spades, 9 of hearts, 10 of diamonds, and ace of clubs.

First seminar on cloning held in Haifa
By JUDY SIEGEL

A number of cows are pregnant with clones taken from adult cells. This achievement - a continuation of technology used in Scotland to produce the sheep clone named Dolly - has been carried out by scientists at the University of Wisconsin.

Reports on the cow cloning, which proves the technique can be used on more than one type of mammal, were discussed at the first-ever scientific seminar on cloning, held Friday at Haifa's Rambam Hospital.

The event, run by Rambam's Prof. Yosef Itzkovitz, included representatives of universities, the biotechnology industry and the Science Ministry. Prof. Gil First and Prof. James Thompson, who arrived from the US, discussed advances at the University of Wisconsin.

They noted that Dolly's birth was "not a one-time event." Besides cloning other species, one can transform fetal cells that had not yet differentiated into tissues of the intestine, brain, and muscle.

This, they said, could allow production in the lab of tissues and even organs for transplanting into patients. Itzkovitz said the US experiments produced more fetuses from fewer attempts than the work that resulted in the birth of Dolly; over 200 attempts were made before the ewe was delivered.

The scientists at the seminar agreed that experiments should be carried out under supervision, but that cloning could be beneficial for medical purposes.

THE JEWS OF PIEDMONT & LOMBARDY



From the 14th century onwards, Jews escaping persecution settled in Piedmont, which was part of the Duchy of Savoy, and there is evidence from the 12th century of Jews living in Lombardy, part of the Duchy of Milan.

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Every day there will be a lecture on a different aspect of the study trip and we will visit synagogues, Valentino Castle, the Roman Fortress, the Royal Palace, the Antiquity Museum in Turin, as well as the Hebrew Manuscript collection at the National Library. In Milan, we'll visit the Brera Picture Gallery, Sforza Castle, and the Ambrosian Library.

The English speaking tour, organized by JEWISH HISTORICAL SEMINARS and ZIONTOURS, takes place from Monday, JUNE 16, until Thursday, JUNE 26.

The price of US\$2495 includes return flight by scheduled airline, double-room accommodation in first-class hotels, full daily buffet breakfast, kosher Shabbat dinner and lunch, nine lectures, excellent local guide, all entrance fees, touring in luxury buses, transfers, etc.

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